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CHAPTER 16

GOTHS AND HUNS, *c.* 320–425

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For half a century, from *c.* 320 to *c.* 370, Germanic Gothic tribes were the dominant foreign power north of the Roman empire's lower Danube frontier. Relations between the two were often strained, if always close. Between *c.* 370 and 425, however, the non-Germanic and originally nomadic Huns pushed a series of Gothic (and other) groups across the Roman frontier, and at the same time began to consolidate their own power north of the Danube. By the end of this period, the Roman state had thus had to accommodate itself to two separate if linked developments: the existence of large bodies of autonomous Goths within its own borders, and the rise of the Hunnic empire in central Europe.

I. SOURCES

The physical culture of the Gothic world before the arrival of the Huns has been illuminated by numerous excavations in the Ukraine, Moldavia and Romania, which have identified the period of Gothic domination of these lands with the so-called Sîntana de Mureş-Černjachov culture (henceforth Černjachov culture). The documentary evidence for the Goths before *c.* 370, while limited in absolute terms, is also richer than that available for any of the Roman empire's other European neighbours. Historical narratives are provided by the *Anonymus Valesianus*, Eunapius of Sardis and, above all, Ammianus Marcellinus. A further dimension is added to these narratives by a series of speeches made before the emperor Valens and the senate of Constantinople by the orator Themistius. In addition, Ulfilas created a Gothic alphabet to translate the Bible in the middle of the fourth century. The Bible is itself an important source, and can be taken together with a body of material about Ulfilas' life, works and beliefs, and a number of texts generated by persecutions of Gothic Christians: in particular, the *Passion of St Saba.*

After the arrival of the Huns, archaeological evidence becomes less helpful. That the Gothic world was overturned emerges clearly enough, but the chronology of the artefacts, settlements and cemeteries is not well enough established to provide a detailed picture of the Huns' impact. The

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literary evidence is only a little better. Ammianus provides a striking, if brief, account of events up to 376, but from that point until the 430s, when the work of Priscus begins, information is sparse.

Inside the empire, the main outlines of the history of those Goths forced across the frontier can be reconstructed. Ammianus furnishes a detailed account of events from the crossing of the Danube in 376 to the battle of Adrianople in 378. From 378 to 395, material from the history of Eunapius provides the only narrative. It is not as detailed as that provided by Ammianus, but not so deficient as is sometimes portrayed, and, up to the mid 380s, is again supplemented by speeches of Themistius. From *c.* 395 to 405, no narrative source survives, but much can be gleaned from the works of Claudian and Synesius of Cyrene. If the full text of the history of Olympiodorus of Thebes had survived, the final part of our period, from 405 to 425, would have been illuminated by a narrative of precision and detail. Unfortunately, the original text is not preserved, and we have to make do with extracts and partial summaries via intermediaries such as Zosimus, Sozomen, Philostorgius and the Byzantine bibliophile Photius.

II. THE GOTHS TO *c.* 370

1. The Goths and the Černjachov culture

The geographical area dominated by the Goths before the arrival of the Huns is broadly defined by the extent of the Černjachov culture. As Fig. 10 shows, it extended over many thousands of square kilometres in the north-eastern hinterland of the Black Sea. In the past, the association of this culture with the Goths was highly contentious, but important methodological advances have made it irresistible. The ability to date clustered archaeological finds – regularly occurring associations of pottery, tools, jewellery, etc. – has demonstrated that the culture came into existence in the third century at precisely the moment when Goths started to spread their power towards the Black Sea. The latest finds have also been dated no later than the early fifth century – the moment when Gothic domination of the region was overthrown by the Huns.[1]

Precisely how should the Goths be associated with this culture? It used to be thought that the boundaries of physical cultures corresponded closely to political boundaries, each 'people' leaving behind its own distinctive material remains. But anthropological studies have shown that boundaries in material culture reflect zones of social or economic interaction rather than political frontiers. People with the same material culture

[1] Introductory accounts: Heather and Matthews (1991) ch. 3; Kazanski (1991) 39ff.; Ščukin (1975). Major publications of finds: Mitrea and Preda (1966); Palade (1986); *Materialy i Issledovniya po Arkheologii SSSr* (1960a); (1960b); (1964); (1967).

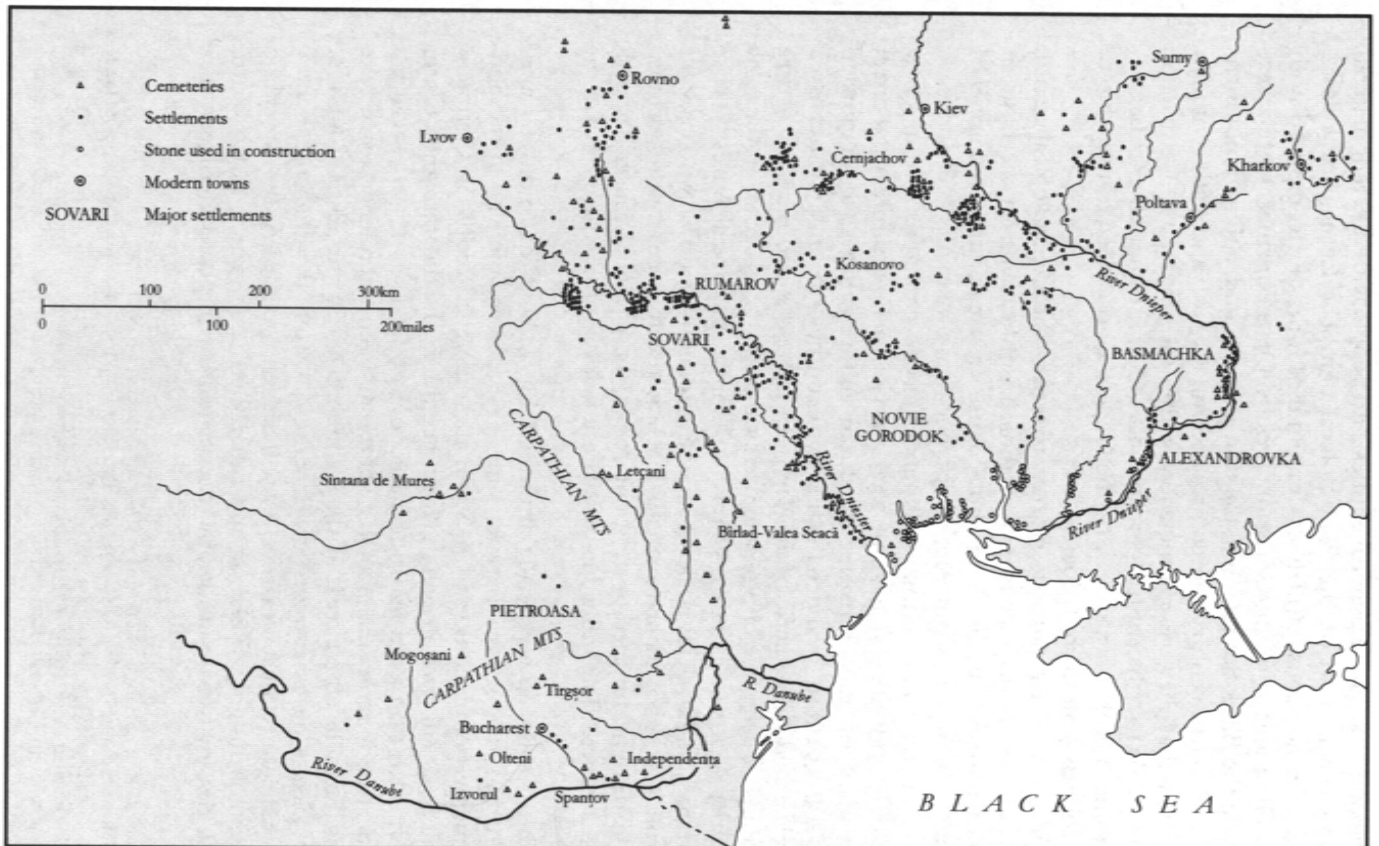

Fig. 10. Settlements and cemeteries of the Černjachov culture

can belong to separate political entities, and people with different material cultures can be part of the same poliical unit. The Černjachov culture, indeed, did not consist solely of immigrant Goths, but comprised both other Germanic and non-Germanic groups. Of the former, Heruli were active in the Black Sea region in the third century, and, although not mentioned in fourth-century sources, reappear in the fifth and sixth centuries. It is likely that they were somewhere within the area of the Černjachov culture in the fourth century (perhaps under Gothic hegemony: see below). The same is probably also true of the Gepids, whose close relationship to the Goths is stressed by Jordanes.[2]

For non-Germanic groups, we have to turn to the archaeological record. It is notoriously difficult to make ethnic identifications on the basis of physical remains, but the Černjachov culture was created from a number of strands of different origin. Metalwork, personal ornaments and, above all, the distinctive habit of mixing inhumation and cremation within single cemeteries indicate that, in some ways, the Černjachov culture was a direct descendant of the Germanic Wielbark culture which had dominated central and eastern Poland in the first two centuries A.D. On the other hand, wheel-turned Černjachov pottery, in both technique and range of forms, descends directly from pottery in use around the Carpathians in the early centuries A.D., and is not dissimilar to Roman provincial wares.[3] These separate strands quickly coalesced to create an homogeneous whole. Grave 36 from Letçani contained an individual buried with large amounts of non-Germanic wheel-turned pottery, but one of these pots was inscribed with Gothic runes.[4] The individual was presumably Gothic, then, despite the pottery.

This throws up a crucially important but difficult question. To what extent did distinctions between immigrant Germanic and local non-Germanic populations, and between the different groups of Germanic immigrants, survive through the fourth century? Did the immigrant Goths absorb a large proportion of the indigenous population, or were social and political boundaries maintained? There has been a tendency recently to stress the multi-ethnic basis of the realms created by the Goths around the Black Sea: a necessary corrective to the outdated idea that a distinctive material culture must be associated with a single people.[5] At the same time, the establishment of Gothic and other Germanic groups north of the Black Sea involved considerable competition with powers indigenous to

[2] Heruli: Zos. 1.42; Procop. *BG* VI.14–15. Gepids: Jordanes, *Get.* XVII.94–5.

[3] Wielbark culture: Ščukin (1989) 292–301; Kazanski (1991) 18–28. Černjachov pottery: Häusler (1979) 40–1; Palade (1980); Kazanski (1991) 39 ff.

[4] Illustrated in Bloşiu (1975) 267; Heather and Matthews (1991) 86.

[5] E.g. Wolfram, *Goths* 85ff.; Kazanski (1991) 39ff.; essays by Diaconu and Ionita in Constantinescu *et al.* (1975).

the region. The immigrants did not create multi-ethnic confederations by negotiation, but intruded themselves by force, and it is quite clear that Dacian Carpi and nomadic Sarmatians, amongst others, were the losers in the process. The original pattern of units created, therefore, was probably a mixture of dominant Germanic, especially Gothic, groups and subordinate locals. Consonant with this is the fact that, viewed from across the frontier, Germanic immigrants were the obviously dominant force in this region; fourth-century Graeco-Roman sources mention only Goths north of the Danube. Likewise, the Gothic language of Ulfilas' Bible is Germanic. A mixed population, then, but not an equal one, and this lack of equality is likely to have hindered absorption, since dominant groups had every interest in maintaining their superiority. A parallel might be the Hunnic Empire of Attila, similarly established by force, where certain individuals were absorbed, but where larger subordinate groups maintained their own identity over several generations.[6]

2. *Gothic subdivisions*

It is traditional to conceive of the Goths as being divided in the fourth century into Visigoths and Ostrogoths. This is based on the testimony of the sixth-century *Getica* of Jordanes (v.42; xiv.82). Jordanes also reports that the fourth-century king of the Ostrogoths, Ermenaric, belonged to the ancient ruling Amal dynasty and controlled a vast multinational empire between the Black Sea and the Baltic (xxiii.116–20). But Jordanes' testimony cannot be accepted at face value.

Ammianus calls the Gothic groups of his day not 'Visigoth' and 'Ostrogoth' but Tervingi and Greuthungi, and one approach has been to take the two sets of terms to designate the same political entities. This, however, is illegitimate. If we use 'Visigoth' to mean that Gothic group which settled in south-western Gaul in 418, it was not the direct descendant of the fourth-century Tervingi. As we shall see, three previously separate Gothic groups (Tervingi *and* Greuthungi, together with the followers of Radagaisus) made more or less equal contributions to what was a quite new Gothic political unit. This new grouping was also headed by a new royal dynasty (a similar process of development lay behind the emergence of the Ostrogoths, but this story lies beyond our compass). Visigoths and Ostrogoths must not be imported anachronistically, therefore, into the fourth century.[7]

[6] Generally: Heather *Goths and Romans* 89–97. Third-century rivalries: Pet. Patr. fr. 8 (*FHG* iv.490–1). Hunnic empire: compare Priscus frr. 11.2 (pp. 266ff.) and 49.

[7] Wolfram, *Goths* 5–12, 24–7, 164ff., 168ff., 248ff. (after Wenskus (1961) 471ff.). Taken further by Heather, *Goths and Romans* ch. 1; cf. Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops* 48–85 on Alaric and the Visigoths.

Jordanes' description of the empire of Ermenaric is similarly problematic, because it is a carefully constructed expansion of the account of Ermenaric that can still be read in Ammianus. Rather thin narratives of supposed victories, together with a list of Gothic equivalents for names common to classical ethnography and some biblical references have been used to fill out Ammianus' account of a 'most warlike monarch' who ruled 'extensive and wide dominions' (XXXI.3.1–2). Although obviously an important figure in Ammianus, Ermenaric becomes a much grander one in the *Getica*, deliberately recast as a Gothic precursor of Attila: the ruler of 'all the Scythian and German nations'. The point of this reworking emerges from the *Getica*'s Amal family tree where Ermenaric links together the ancestral line of Theoderic the Ostrogoth with that of Eutharic, his adopted heir and son-in-law. Both the kind of material used in the reworking and its manipulative genealogical point (substantiating a claim that Theoderic and his adopted heir anyway belonged to the same family – Theoderic having failed to produce a son) suggest that the *Getica*'s expanded version rests solely on its author's imagination. The size of Ermenaric's kingdom thus becomes very much an open question.[8]

From Ammianus it is clear that he was a substantial figure, but it is not at all certain that he ruled all Goths other than the Tervingi. The latter seem to have spread as far east as the Dniester,[9] leaving most of the Černjachov area (cf. Fig. 10 above) unaccounted for. Ammianus' account reads as though all of Ermenaric's people made their way across the Danube in 376 (XXXI.3.3ff.), but in fact they were followed, during the next hundred years, by four more large Gothic groups, together with at least four smaller ones. Either a far-reaching process of fragmentation followed Ermenaric's death, therefore, which the normally careful Ammianus did not mention, or several Gothic groups already existed north of the Danube before the arrival of the Huns.

Though views differ, the latter seems the likelier alternative. A king who ruled every Goth other than the Tervingi would actually have ruled by far the greatest number of Goths (the Tervingi account for only one out of five major Gothic groups known from the period after *c.* 370). Such a realm would have been much more powerful than that of the Tervingi and ought to have been the major focus of Roman policy. Yet Greuthungi barely intrude into the story of fourth-century Gotho–Roman relations. It is difficult to believe that a much bigger Gothic political unit could have existed just behind the Tervingi and left no real trace in the historical record. If this is correct, we must envisage perhaps half a dozen or more independent Gothic units within the bounds of the Černjachov culture.[10]

[8] Heather (1989) 110–16.

[9] Amm. Marc. XXXI.3.3: Tervingi advance to the Dniester to meet retreating Greuthungi.

[10] Jordanes' account of Ermenaric is usually accepted without question: Wolfram, *Goths* 86ff.; or Kazanski (1991) 33ff. Further discussion, Heather, *Goths and Romans* 84–9, cf. 13–14.

3. Social and economic organization

The nature of the economy practised within the confines of the Černjachov culture seems clear enough. As is apparent from Fig. 10, the settlement pattern consisted of villages clustered close to water in the major river valleys of the region. Some of these villages were substantial, although they did vary in size. The largest settlement of all, Budeşty, covered an area of thirty-five hectares, and several others were around twenty hectares (e.g. Zagajkany, Kobuska and Veke), although, at the other end of the scale, Petrikany was only two hectares, and Komrat four and a half. The evidence clearly indicates that the population of these villages derived its subsistence from mixed farming. Quite a high priority was given to the production of cereals. To judge from deposits in storage pits, the most important crops were wheat, barley and millet; rye, oats, peas, acorns and hemp were also harvested. Considerable effort was also put into animal husbandry. Cattle bones are the most common among domestic animals; sheep and goats were also kept, along with pigs and some horses. In the foothills of the Carpathians, the countryside was most suitable for sheep and goats; in the Ukraine proper, pigs took second place behind cattle, and it was only out on the steppe that horses seem to have played a prominent role. Hunting seems to have been no more than a very subsidiary part of the economy.

Any talk of industry would be misleading. It seems, for instance, that every major settlement had its own potter and kiln, suggesting that there was no organized pottery industry as such. There is, however, some interesting evidence for craft specialization. The village of Bîrlad-Valea Seacă had, at the last count, produced some sixteen huts containing bone combs in various stages of production. Glass was also produced for the first time beyond the Roman frontier within the Černjachov area; one centre of production was the village of Komarov in the north-eastern foothills of the Carpathians. Iron too was extracted and worked.

A variety of evidence indicates that different kinds of exchange had considerable importance. Internally, for instance, the combs and glass produced at the craft centres circulated freely by some mechanism among the population. There was also considerable trade with the Roman world. As we shall see, trade regulations always formed part of diplomatic agreements, and trade was never cut off even when relations were far from good (see p. 496 below). From literary sources, we know that a considerable slave trade operated out of Gothic territory, and archaeological evidence illuminates some of the goods which flowed into Gothic territories in return. Černjachov sites and burials have turned up Roman (probably wine) amphorae in considerable quantities, and huge numbers of Roman coins.[11]

[11] See generally Heather and Matthews (1991) ch. 3; Häusler (1979); on the glass, see Rau (1972).

If a simple outline of the economy is thus fairly easy to sketch, much more difficult is the nature of the social order it maintained. There was some social stratification and some specialization of labour. The literary sources refer to nobles who kept retainers and used them to enforce their rulings. The *Passion of St Saba* names two such leaders – Atharid and his father Rothesteos, called 'prince' (βασιλίσκος) – and a Gothic document from the same persecution names Winguric as a third. The *Passion* also describes the way in which Atharid used his retainers to enforce the persecution in a Gothic village.[12] The events of 376 and after provide us with other nobles of the Tervingi such as Alavivus and Fritigern. Less is known of the Greuthungi, but a powerful noble class had probably established itself throughout Gothic society by the fourth century. Certain prominent non-royal Greuthungi are named (Alatheus, Saphrac and Farnobius: Amm. Marc. XXXI.3.3; 4.12), and a class of such men is a constant feature of Gothic groups met in the fifth and sixth centuries.

Leaders such as Atharid must have been in receipt of tribute – not least, food renders – to support their non-producing retainers. Consonant with this is archaeological evidence for 'central places': sites with unusually extensive storage facilities suggestive of leaders taxing a dependent agricultural population (these are marked on Fig. 10). In similar vein, there is little sign among the fourth-century Goths of formally democratic – or, at least, egalitarian – institutions such as the gathering of all adult male tribesmen which Tacitus describes among Germani of the first century.[13]

The *Passion of St Saba* warns us not to overestimate the degree of control that this noble class exercised. In the face of orders to persecute Christians, villagers were prepared to protect Christians in their midst by swearing false oaths and by eating meat that they had only pretended to offer to idols. An arresting picture of both the vertical and horizontal bonds of society emerges. The primary social unit was the village (as the archaeological pattern might indicate), but numbers of villages were clustered under the control of individual nobles, the same villages presumbly providing for the upkeep of retainers. How many villages a given noble might have controlled is unknowable. The higher authorities met in the *Passion of St Saba* do not seem to have been well acquainted with the village, since it was only Saba's refusal to co-operate which undermined the attempted deceptions. Correspondingly, village authorities in the *Passion* exercise considerable authority. When Saba's refusal to co-operate threatened the safety of other villagers, the elders expelled him for a time. The village authorities are likely to have had similar control over many aspects

[12] *Passion* trans. in Heather and Matthews (1991) 111–17. Winguric: Menologium of Basil II: *PG* CXVII.368, trans. in Heather and Matthews (1991) 126–7.

[13] Central places: refs. in Heather and Matthews (1991) 57. Social institutions: Thompson, *Visigoths* 43–55. A good introduction to social stratification in Germanic society is Hedeager (1988).

of daily life (such as grazing and water rights, tribute collection and religious ceremonial).

Whenever we meet Greuthungi, they are led by kings (Amm. Marc. XXXI.3.1–3), but leaders of the Tervingi in the better sources are called 'judge'. The particularity of this title has occasioned considerable scholarly debate, and the judge of the Tervingi has generally come to be characterized as a temporary figure who was given special powers only when the Tervingi faced specific dangers. At other times, the nobles are held to have exercised autonomous control over their villages. The fourth-century Goths used 'king' (*reiks*) of these men, in fact, with the general meaning of 'leader of men' or 'distinguished' rather than 'monarch' or 'overall ruler' (hence Ambrose correctly styles the judge as 'judge of kings').[14]

It has been shown, however, that the office of judge among the Tervingi descended through three generations of the same family, adding weight to references of Zosimus (following Eunapius) to a Gothic 'royal clan' (IV.25.2; 34.3).[15] This need not mean that the judge was a permanent monarchical figure, and two arguments have been put forward to suggest that he was not. The first is that we hear of no confederation or judge in peacetime. But our sources never in fact refer to the Tervingi in normal times of peace; Romans were only interested in Goths when they caused difficulties. The first argument is very much from silence, therefore, and can actually be reversed. We hear of the Tervingi on essentially three occasions before the arrival of the Huns: in the 330s (when they made peace with Constantine), the 340s (the expulsion of Ulfilas) and the 360s (the war between Athanaric and the emperor Valens). On each occasion, they had an overall leader (whether styled judge or king) and we have no indication that a judge had not been continuously in office in between.

The second argument is based on two occasions when sources record 'kings of the Goths' (meaning Tervingi) taking action, with no mention of a judge. Both, however, occur in passing references to Gothic activity (Amm. Marc. XXVI.10.3; Lib. *Or.* LIX.89–90), rather than in detailed reports. And in a fuller account of the same incident – the sending of Gothic help to the usurper Procopius – elsewhere in his history, Ammianus specifically blames it on the judge of the Tervingi (XXXI.3.4). Given that overall leaders often act with the counsel of their great men, there seems no need to build a complicated hypothesis on the back of two passing remarks. Indeed, a whole array of contemporary sources found the judge of the Tervingi eminently confusable with the kind of king more familiar to us (*rex* = 'monarch', rather than Gothic *reiks* = 'distinguished'). Themistius described Athanaric, judge in the 360s and 370s, as 'lord' or 'ruler'

[14] See e.g. Thompson, *Visigoths* 43–55; Wolfram, *Goths*, esp. 94–100; Wolfram (1975).
[15] Wolfram, *Goths* 62ff.

(δυνάστης: ed. Downey, *Or.* XI p. 221. 9, XV p. 276. 5), the *Anonymus Valesianus* distinguished between two levels of leadership among the Tervingi in the 330s – a *rex* Ariaricus (VI.31) versus the *regalis* Alica (V.27) – and Eunapius (and, following him, Zosimus) consistently referred to the 'king' of the Goths. These sources are impressive collective testimony that the ruler of the Tervingi looked to the Roman world very much like a monarch.[16]

We must probably include, then, a permanent overall ruler, deriving from different generations of the one family, in our picture of the fourth-century Tervingi. A strong noble class had also established itself, and no doubt overall leaders could not afford to ignore its members' demands. And as we shall see, when the Hunnic invasions undermined the hold on power of established leaders, the noble class threw up many pretenders to take their places. None of this denies, however, that the judge of the Tervingi was a permanent leader. When and how this dynasty established itself is a question our sources do not answer.

4. Gotho–Roman relations to c. 370

On four occasions, Gothic contingents, perhaps three thousand strong, served in Roman wars, and on three of them went all the way to Persia. In their third-century raids the Goths had also taken large numbers of Roman prisoners, whose descendants remained a recognizable group in the fourth-century Gothic society. This was the background of Ulfilas, whose family remained conscious of its Cappadocian origins, and it was no doubt central to Ulfilas' expertise in Greek, Latin and Gothic. Such permanent and temporary exchanges of population were matched by a series of individual contacts. From the 330s to the 360s trade was allowed at any point along the frontier. Roman products, particularly amphorae, have turned up in Černjachov finds, and the export of slaves from Gothic territories was common. Individual Goths, and large groups, were also recruited into the Roman army.[17]

The huge fortifications of the Lower Danube frontier did not prevent, therefore, a whole range of contacts – from the commercial to the ideological (such as the spread of Christianity; on this, see p. 499 below). Even after the treaty of 369 re-established a stricter division between Roman and Goth, two centres for cross-border trade remained open, and during the persecution of the 370s, Gothic Christians moved easily back and forth.[18]

[16] In more detail with full refs.: Heather, *Goths and Romans* 97–103.

[17] Gothic contingents: 348 (Lib. *Or.* LIX.89), 360 (Amm. Marc. XX.8.1), 363 (*ibid.* XXIII.2.7), 365 (*ibid.* XXVI.10.3). Ulfilas: Heather and Matthews (1991) chs. 5–6 for texts in translation and discussion. Trade: Thompson, *Visigoths* 34ff. Slaving: Wolfram, *Goths* 97–8. Recruits: Amm. Marc. XXXI.6.

[18] Trade: Them. *Or.* X ed. Downey, p. 206. 7–8 (trans. in Heather and Matthews (1991) ch. 2). Christians: *Passion of St Saba* in Heather and Matthews (1991) 114, 117.

But the empire had also to deal more formally with the Gothic kingdoms of the region, and here the fortified frontier played a substantial role. How matters were arranged with Goths east of the Dniester is unclear; much more is known about the evolution of relations with the Tervingi.

This group of Goths would seem to have established itself on the frontier only from the 310s, pushing into the power vacuum left by the tetrarchs' forced resettlement of Carpi inside the Roman empire. In the 320s, Gothic forces intervened on the side of Licinius against Constantine (*Anon. Val.* v.27), and from that point the Tervingi became the focus of Roman policy north of the lower Danube. In the 330s, partly in response to the help they had sent Licinius, Constantine undertook a general pacification of the Tervingi and, indeed, of the entire Danube frontier. By 335, the Goths of the lower Danube together with Sarmatians of the middle Danube had been forced to acknowledge Roman power. With the Tervingi, Constantine made a treaty which brought Roman and Goth into unprecedentedly close contact. Coins were issued with the legend *Gothia*, a form implying that, in some way, Goths had been made part of the Roman empire. The entire length of the Gothic frontier was also opened for trade, when normal Roman policy was to control cross-border trade through a small number of designated outlets. The son of the then judge of the Tervingi came to Constantinople as a hostage (where a statue was erected to him behind the senate house), and the Tervingi henceforth provided troops for Roman campaigns. The Goths were entitled in return to 'gifts' and 'presents' – money and clothing – which may well have been presented annually. It was in the aftermath of the treaty, too, that Ulfilas was consecrated bishop and sent back to his homeland, seemingly with imperial backing. He was consecrated by a leading bishop, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and, when expelled after eight years, was greeted personally by the emperor Constantius II.

Apart from a disturbance in the late 340s, resolved by negotiation and the expulsion of Ulfilas, the treaty endured down to the 360s. A three-year war (367–9) with the emperor Valens was then followed by a treaty re-establishing a much greater distance between the formerly intimate partners. Roman gifts ceased; trade was allowed only at two designated points. The Tervingi also launched a persecution of Christians in their lands, which, the sources tell us, was done to spite the Christian Roman emperors. Roman propaganda likewise stressed the importance of an impregnable frontier opposite the Goths, and the obligation to furnish military assistance lapsed. Constantine's activity was thus followed by thirty years of close relations before another war ushered in a reseparation.[19] Whose will

[19] This much is now broadly agreed. Thompson, *Visigoths* 9ff., argued that the Goths reversed the defeat suffered under Constantine in the 340s, considering that a Roman victory would not have led to 'gifts' and such a trading regime. See, amongst others, Chrysos (1972) ch. 2; Wolfram, *Goths* 57ff.

did these treaties primarily reflect? Did the Romans or the Goths prefer the close relations which prevailed in the middle of the century?

The current orthodoxy is that it was the Goths who preferred relations to be close, and that their nobility, in particular, desired the annual gifts which came their way. This is based on a speech of Themistius from 370 in which he declared the war of 367–9 to have been a Roman victory since it brought these payments to an end. But Themistius' task was to present imperial deeds in the best possible light. Victory was the prime imperial virtue, and no emperor could ever admit to having been dictated to by mere 'barbarians'. In other words, whatever had happened, Themistius would have found some way of presenting it as an imperial success. The actual course of events suggests on the contrary that, while the war was not a Roman defeat, Valens did fail to maintain the level of domination over the Goths achieved by Constantine.[20]

While Constantine's intervention north of the Danube had led unambiguously to a Gothic surrender, Valens enjoyed only mixed success. In 367, the Roman army destroyed many Gothic villages, but the bulk of the population escaped to the Carpathian mountains. In 368 an unusually high spring flood made it impossible for the main Roman force to cross over the river, and in 369, although Valens' troops ranged widely, Athanaric, the judge of the Tervingi, was never defeated in a pitched battle (Amm. Marc. XXVII.5; the point was conceded by Themistius *Or.* X). The peace of 369 was negotiated on a ship in the middle of the river, acknowledging that Athanaric still controlled the territory beyond it.

It is of a piece with this evidence that the Goths were actually the aggressors in the 360s – i.e. they were the ones wanting to modify Constantine's arrangements. In 362, before Julian's campaign left for Persia, a Gothic embassy came to him requesting a change in the terms of their treaty (Lib. *Or.* XII.78); it was dismissed. The Goths then seized the opportunity presented by Julian's defeat to cause further trouble. In response, Valens sent troops to the Danubian region, but they were suborned by Julian's uncle Procopius to start his usurpation. This presented the Goths with a further opportunity. Instead of confronting the empire head-on, they responded to a request for aid by sending Procopius some three thousand troops (Amm. Marc. XXVI.6.11–12; 10.3). No doubt the Goths hoped that a grateful usurper would grant them the modifications they desired without recourse to battle. As it turned out, Procopius was defeated and Valens mounted his punitive campaign, but by the 360s the Goths were clearly anxious to change their treaty, and trying every means to do so. Valens' campaign failed to reimpose the Constantinian relationship, and the peace

[20] Orthodoxy: (e.g.) Thompson, *Visigoths* ch. 1; Chrysos (1972) 97ff.; Wolfram, *Goths* 66–7. Them. *Or.* X trans. with commentary in Heather and Matthews (1991) ch. 2.

of 369 was a compromise which reflected the wishes of the Tervingi leadership more than had the peace of the 330s. Themistius' emphasis on gifts was no more than a smokescreen. Annual gifts had been part of Roman frontier policy for centuries, but, by concentrating attention on this side issue and misrepresenting gifts as 'tribute', Themistius could present a setback as success.[21]

This has important implications for our understanding of the Goths. The current orthodoxy presents them as interested primarily in a steady flow of Roman gifts, and happy to accept the partial subjection of the Constantinian regime so long as the flow was maintained. They can now be seen as a much more independent-minded group, who preferred independence to Roman blandishments (though, no doubt, they would have preferred both, if possible). They had enough self-consciousness to seek to overturn Roman domination, resenting its practical intrusions into their affairs. One source of resentment was perhaps the obligation to provide troops (it was after 382; see below); another was the intrusion of Christianity, perceived as an alien Roman religion. The leadership of the Tervingi attempted to halt the spread of Christianity in two periods of persecution: one in the 340s, associated with the expulsion of Ulfilas, the second immediately after the peace of 369. To judge by the *Passion of St Saba*, this second persecution was not totally successful, but it is the fact that a persecution was mounted at all which is really significant. It represents a deliberate attempt to spite the Romans by enforcing a contrary ideological uniformity among the Goths, and broadly confirms the picture which has emerged from the discussion of diplomatic relations.[22] By the fourth century, Gothic society had thrown up substantial political entities which wanted to hold their own, politically and ideologically, against the Roman state.

III. GOTHS AND HUNS BEYOND THE ROMAN FRONTIER, *c.* 370–425

The established political order beyond the Danube was completely overturned in the last quarter of the fourth century by the intrusion of a mysterious third party: the Huns. Of their origins, Ammianus reports that they came from the north, near the 'ice-bound ocean' (XXXI.2.1). Arguments have long raged as to whether this should be taken literally – in which case the Huns might have had Finno-Ugrian roots, like the later Magyars – or whether they were the first known group of Turkic nomads to disturb the frontiers of Europe.[23]

[21] Fuller argumentation and refs.: Heather, *Goths and Romans* 108–21.

[22] See Thompson, *Visigoths* 94–103; Wolfram, *Goths* 75ff.

[23] Maenchen-Helfen, *Huns* chs. 8–9 is in the end inconclusive; see also Thompson, *Attila* 15ff.

Ammianus' famous digression on their customs and manners portrays them as a nomadic group of tribes without a single overall ruler (XXXI.2.2–11). There is no reason to disbelieve this basic characterization, even if Ammianus' understanding of nomadism was limited. Nomadism is a specialized form of animal husbandry designed to exploit marginal grazing areas by moving flocks between designated blocks of summer and winter pasture. Characteristically, movements are neither vast in distance, nor random; grazing rights have to be carefully defined and jealously guarded if the somewhat hazardous exploitation of margins is to be successful. That the Huns were steppe nomads in no way explains, therefore, their sudden impact upon the fringes of Europe. Their movement into these new areas was a deliberate decision for which there must have been specific motivation. What that may have been is unclear. It is a fair guess that some economic motive was involved, whether positive, such as a growth in population, or negative, such as a decline in the productivity of the steppe region.[24] But there are other possibilities. The Arab conquests show that nomad expansion can also be the result of socio-political revolution.

Somewhat clearer is the impact of the Huns upon the Goths. As Ammianus records, the Huns first subdued the Goths' Alanic neighbours east of the Don (the Alans were Iranian nomads), and then attacked the Goths themselves. After the death of two kings, Ermenaric and Vithimer, a group of Greuthungi controlled by two generals, Alatheus and Saphrac, in the name of Vithimer's son Vitheric, retreated west to the Dniester (cf. Fig. 11). There they halted while Athanaric, ruler of the Tervingi, advanced east to the same point. Further Hunnic attacks undermined Athanaric's attempts both to hold the Dniester and to construct a fortification further west. The bulk of Athanaric's followers then decided, under the leadership of Alavivus and Fritigern, to seek a new home in Roman territory. The retreating Greuthungi decided to do likewise, and sometime in 376, two Gothic groups arrived on the Danube requesting asylum (XXXI.2.12; 3.1ff.). The Huns thus set in motion a domino effect which posed entirely new problems for the Roman state.

Some features of Ammianus' account require further discussion. It is usually thought that, in 376, the Goths were retreating before a solid mass of Huns who had suddenly overturned the hold of the Goths on lands north of the Black Sea, and who immediately advanced in large numbers right up to the Danube, capturing any Goths who had not retreated before them. This seems mistaken. Ammianus' account implies that Hunnic pressure built up over a not inconsiderable period. Ermenaric resisted 'for a

[24] A 'warm period' in Europe in the fourth century is now well documented, and might have led to droughts on the steppes.

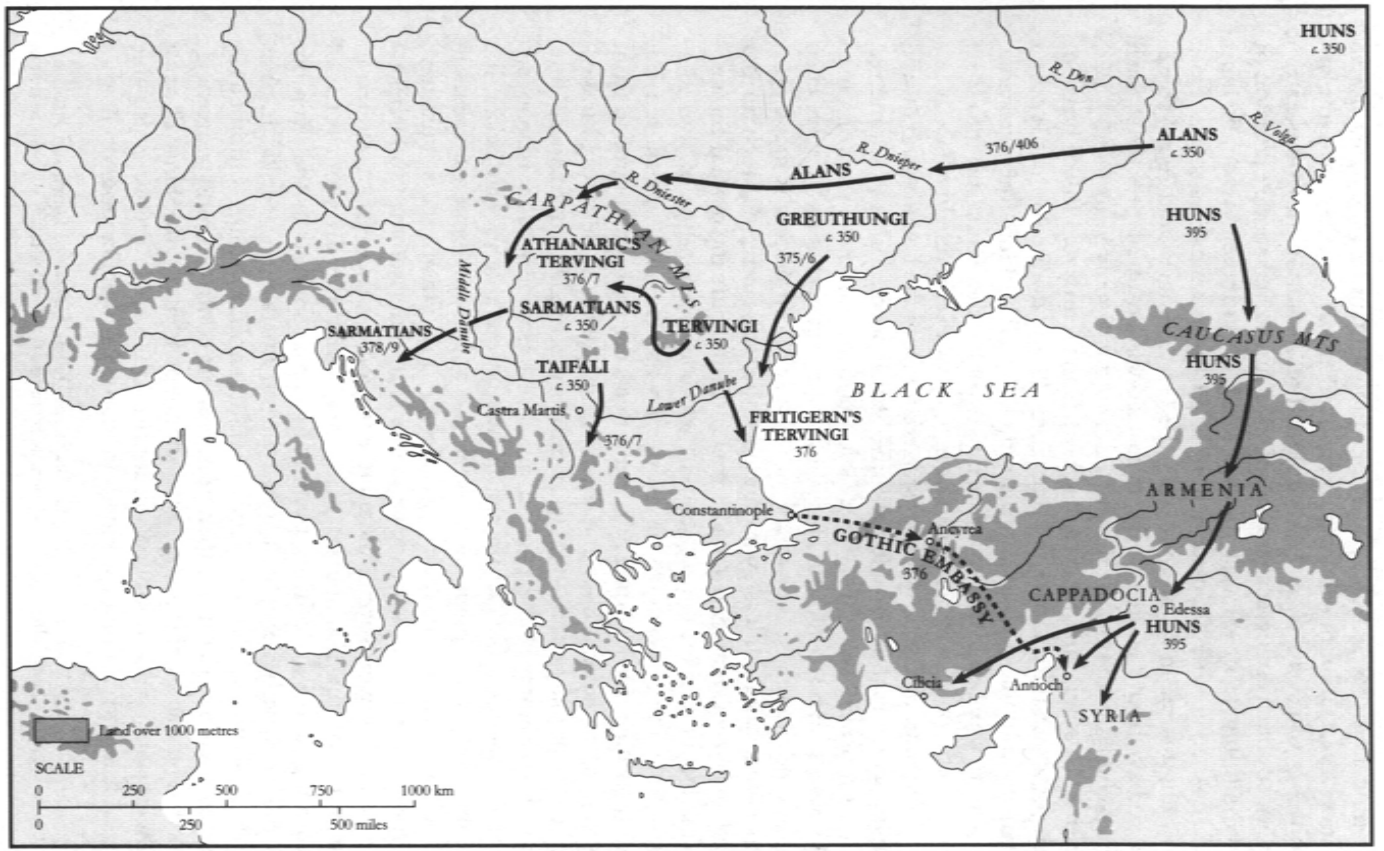

Fig. 11. The arrival of the Huns *c.* A.D. 370–95

long time' (*diu*: XXXI.3.1), and Vithimer fought many engagements (*multas clades*: XXXI.3.2). Neither indication is specific, but together they imply a chronology of several years. Likewise, what set in motion the events of 376 was not so much an increase in Hunnic pressure as the sudden decision of the Greuthungi to move west after the death of Vithimer (Athanaric must have advanced to the Dniester at least in part to prevent this retreat from disrupting his realm). The retreat of the Greuthungi would seem, therefore, to have been a sudden reaction to a slow build-up of pressure, which perhaps had grown up over the preceding ten to twenty years.[25]

Nor did a solid wall of Huns reach the Danube in 376. Little is heard of them for about the next twenty years; only in 395 do the sources report a destructive Hunnic raid on the eastern empire. The Huns then attacked, not across the Danube, however, but through the Caucasus into Asia Minor, some of the raiders even going on to Persia (cf. Fig. 11). It has usually been argued that the Huns started out from the Danube and moved east, but, given that this would have involved a journey of 1100 kilometres, it seems most unlikely. Every extra kilometre increased the strain on man and horse, so why would the Huns have taken on such a trek before even beginning their attack? The much more likely interpretation is that a great many Huns – those, at least, who launched the raid – were still much further east than is usually imagined, making a Caucasus route the natural choice.[26]

This has important consequences for our understanding of 376, suggesting that the appearance of Goths on the Danube was caused not directly by the arrival of the Huns but reflects the chaos generated in front of them by displaced groups and small raiding parties. A number of indications confirm this picture – not least, details reported by Ammianus. Huns play an important part in the action, but always as raiders rather than invaders. The Tervingi and Greuthungi, likewise, were able to wait beside the Danube while their embassies went all the way to the emperor Valens in Antioch and his answer returned (XXXI.4.1, 12). This process must have taken well over a month, during which no Huns harassed the Goths beside the river. Moreover, several independent groups of Goths continued to exist north of the Danube for many years after 376. In 386 a force of Greuthungi under Odotheus attempted to cross south over the river, but was defeated with heavy casualties, the survivors being settled in Asia Minor (Zos. IV.35.1; 38–9; Claudian *IV Cons. Hon.* 626ff.). Odotheus is often characterized as an escapee from Hunnic control, but no source suggests that he was anything other than an independent Gothic king. The rest of the Tervingi who continued to support Athanaric in 376 were also able to establish and maintain a kingdom north of the Danube, even after

[25] Heather, *Goths and Romans* 135–6; *contra*, e.g. Maenchen-Helfen, *Huns* 26–7; Thompson, *Attila* 20ff.

[26] *Contra* e.g. Maenchen-Helfen, *Huns* 52–9 (whose account of the raid is much superior to that of Thompson, *Attila* 26ff.).

Athanaric himself was ousted in winter 380–1 (Amm. Marc. XXXI.4.13). Likewise, the kingdom of a certain Arimer existed beyond the Roman frontier at some point between 383 and 392, and, even as late as 405–6, another Gothic king, Radagaisus, broke through the Roman frontier, this time invading Italy.[27] Again, modern commentators consider that Radagaisus had thrown off Hunnic dominion, but there is not a word of this in the sources. If the idea that the Huns had arrived *en masse* in 376 is abandoned, there is no reason not to accept him too as a Gothic king independent of Hunnic control.

The arrival of Goths on the Danube in 376 was thus only the first stage in a lengthy process. Its nature seems clear enough. On the one hand, the Huns themselves moved west from the fringes of Europe to its heart; Attila's empire of the 440s and 450s seems to have been centred on the Great Hungarian Plain of the middle Danube, west of the Carpathians (cf. Fig. 12). At the same time, the Huns established dominion over a wide variety of subject peoples. Already in the 370s, some Alans were under Hunnic control (Amm. Marc. XXXI.3.1), and Attila's empire was built upon the subjection of many different peoples – separate groups of Goths as well as numerous others.[28] So much is uncontentious, but the chronology of the process must be revised. Hunnic domination of the Danubian region was not established at a stroke in the 370s, and independent Gothic kingdoms survived as late as the 400s.

All the different stages by which the process was advanced are impossible to recover. The departure of numerous Goths in 376 obviously represents one phase, so too the appearance of other refugees in subsequent years. Likewise, we should note the first Hunnic kingdom directly on the lower Danube frontier: that of Uldin in the first decade of the fifth century. The story of the individual conquests by which Hunnic power was carried forward cannot be told, however, and events probably did not move entirely in the one direction; as late as the 420s, the Romans detached one Gothic group from Hunnic rule. At least three other separate groups of Goths eventually formed part of Attila's empire: those of Valamer, of Bigelis and of a mixed Hunnic–Gothic force defeated in the 460s. All of these emerged separately from the Hunnic empire in the era of its collapse; their original incorporation was probably equally separate.[29]

Though many details are thus lost, the first decade of the fifth century may well have marked a particularly significant moment of Hunnic

[27] Arimer and Radagaisus: Wolfram, *Goths* 135, 168–70.

[28] After the collapse of Hunnic dominion in the 450s, Jordanes, *Get.* L.259ff. records competition between many of its former subjects, including Gepids, Herules, Sciri, Suevi and Sarmatians.

[29] Uldin: Maenchen-Helfen, *Huns* 59ff.: Uldin was clearly a relatively minor figure compared to Attila; Thompson, *Attila* 60 (to be preferred to Maenchen-Helfen, *Huns* 71). 420s: Croke (1977) 358ff. On the Goths under Attila: Heather, *Goths and Romans* 229–30, 240–2.

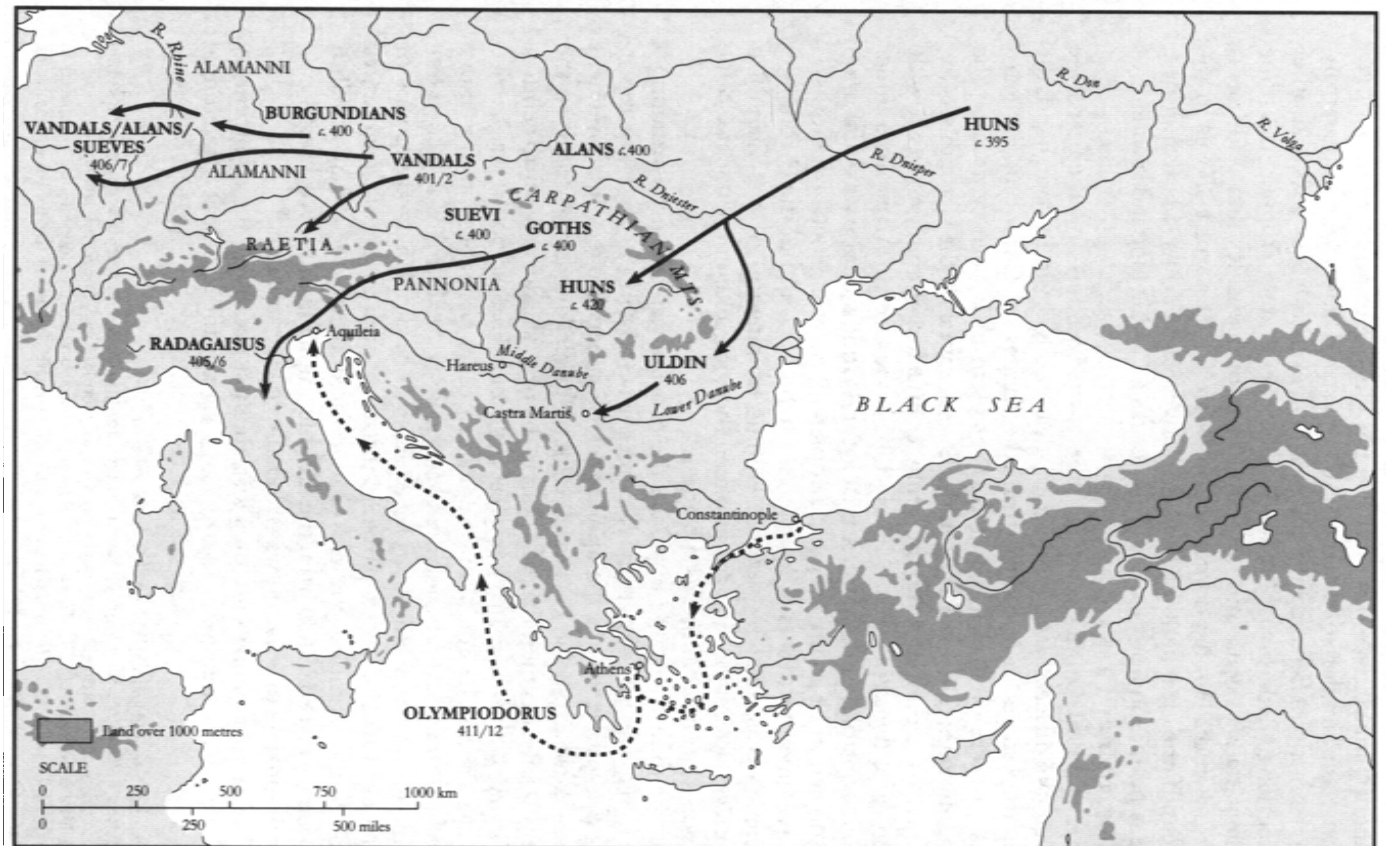

Fig. 12. The crisis of A.D. 405–8 and Huns west of the Carpathian mountains

expansion. The crisis of 376, as we have seen, undermined, if largely indirectly, the established political order east of the Carpathians. In 405–6, the sources report an even larger influx of peoples into the Roman empire. The Gothic king Radagaisus invaded Italy in 405, and on 31 December 406 there occurred the famous Rhine crossing involving a whole host of peoples: particularly Vandals, Alans and Sueves. No source describes the events which led up to this incursion, and Hunnic involvement in them has been doubted.

Radagaisus' invasion and the Rhine crossing together represent, however, a large exodus from areas west of the Carpathians (cf. Fig. 12). That Radagaisus invaded Italy rather than Thrace suggests this origin for his force. Suevi is probably a collective name for the older tribes of the middle Danube, and, while we have no information on the Alans, Vandals were to be found in precisely this region in 402 (Claud. *Bell. Get.* 363ff.). For some reason, therefore, a huge outpouring of peoples from the middle Danube occurred in 405–6. Given that Hunnic power in Europe built up only slowly, it becomes more likely that the model observed in 376 again applied – namely, that Hunnic pressure (whether direct or indirect) underlay this second revolution affecting areas west of the Carpathians. Moreover, while the invasions of 305–6 caused a crisis inside the western empire, they were not taking advantage of any obvious weakness, and many of the invaders met a sticky end. Radagaisus was executed outside Florence in the summer of 406 after a defeat which led to many of his followers being sold into slavery *before* the Rhine crossing was effected (Oros. VII.37.13ff.), and the Vandals and Alans were later savaged in Spain (see below). And while the first unequivocal evidence for Huns in the middle Danube region comes from the 420s (their famous alliance with Aetius), we have some indications that they had been there since *c.* 410. In 409, the western imperial authorities negotiated the assistance of a large Hunnic force (Zos. V.50.1). Help had previously been obtained from the Hunnic king Uldin, but he had just suffered a major defeat, so that these arrangements were probably made with some other Hunnic group, and the middle Danube would have been a convenient region for the authorities in Ravenna to look to for assistance.[30] In 412, similarly, Olympiodorus went on an embassy to the Huns, leaving Constantinople by ship. After a severe storm, his ship put in at Athens, suggesting that it was travelling west through the Aegean, presumably before heading up the Adriatic (cf. Fig. 12), not east to the Black Sea. If so, the Hunnic chiefs he visited were established in the middle Danube region, not east of the Carpathians (Olympiod. frr. 19; 28 Blockley). The argument is not conclusive, but does make it reasonably likely that a first revolution east of the Carpathians in

[30] Refs. as note 29.

the 370s was followed by a similar convulsion west of them some thirty years later.

The Hunnic empire of Attila lies beyond the compass of this volume, but it is worth considering the social and economic structure of the Huns and its transformation in our period. The Huns were steppe nomads, and their social structure reflected the demands of this way of life. Ammianus reports that they had no overall leader in the 370s (XXXI.2.7), and in 412 Olympiodorus encountered a series of Hunnic leaders (ῥηγῶν: fr. 19), one of whom was known as 'first among the kings of the Huns'. Priscus reports a similar pattern of seemingly largely independent chiefs with, nevertheless, a developed internal ranking system among another contemporary nomadic tribe, the Akatziri (fr. 11.2, p. 258 Blockley), and such systems may well have been standard, reflecting the basic fact that, in order not to exhaust grazing, nomads had to operate in fairly small, largely autonomous social units.[31] Indeed, it is highly likely that the Huns were originally subdivided into families (the primary stock-rearing group), clusters of families forming marriage groups, and a third set of groups, perhaps those headed by chiefs, whose function might be termed political: securing and protecting grazing rights.

The westward movement of the Huns and the establishment of an empire generated substantial changes in this pattern. By the time that Priscus visited Attila, there is no sign of the ranked chiefs reported by Olympiodorus. A decentralized power structure had been replaced by a much more authoritarian system. The economic basis of Hunnic society had also changed. Certain nomadic features are likely to have survived, but the Huns were no longer simple steppe nomads. They exploited the agricultural surpluses of conquered subjects (Priscus fr. 49 Blockley), and the military component of their lifestyles had increased dramatically. Raiding, especially stock rustling, had probably always been a useful source of extra income, but proximity to the rich Roman empire and the war machine created by drafting in the manpower of their conquered subjects made warfare a much more valuable form of activity.

From *c.* 400 onwards, we find a succession of Hunnic groups employed by the Roman state (both its eastern and western halves) in a military capacity – in particular to help control the Germanic invaders whom the arrival of the Huns had pushed across the imperial frontier. Uldin was used in this way by Stilicho in the first decade of the fifth century, and other groups were an essential aid to Fl. Constantius in the 410s, and to Fl. Aetius from the 420s. By the 430s, Hunnic power had increased dramatically, and war

[31] Maenchen-Helfen, *Huns* 12–13 discounts Ammianus, claiming that someone must have co-ordinated the sudden attack which destroyed Ermenaric's empire. But that empire was a figment of later imaginations (see p. 492 above), and the fourth-century Hunnic leader Balamber of Jordanes' *Getica* is a confused reminiscence of the Gothic king Valamer: Heather (1989) 116ff.

was now waged independently of and indeed against the Roman state. Warfare none the less retained its economic function; the demands and treaties of the Huns in the period of Attila indicate that plunder was its main purpose. I would not go so far as one recent study in supposing that by this date the Huns no longer had horses, but whether, after the establishment of the empire, much effort went into tending flocks must be doubtful. The middle Danube region offers only restricted room for grazing, and this may well have combined with the increased attractiveness of warfare as an economic option to lead Huns to favour the breeding of horses – the animal of war in nomadic society – over the maintainance of the other herds which had previously formed the backbone of their economy.[32] A full enquiry is hamstrung by the lack of evidence, and this chapter must anyway not stray too far beyond its date limits, but these developments must already have been under way by 425.

IV. GOTHS AND ROMANS, *c.* 376–425

Our sources are quite unanimous that the emperor Valens was overjoyed to receive the Goths who turned up on the Danube in 376, seeing this as an opportunity to recruit many of them into his army. But, as we have seen, imperial ideology made it impossible for an emperor ever to admit that policy towards 'barbarians' had been dictated by events beyond his control, and the detailed account of Ammianus makes it clear that Valens was actually highly suspicious of his supposedly welcome recruits, admitting only one of the two groups gathered on the river bank. The Tervingi under Alavivus and Fritigern were ferried across, under an agreement which probably included the stipulation that the Goths would accept the emperor Valens' non-Nicene Christianity.[33] All available troops were posted, however, to keep the Greuthungi of Alatheus and Saphrac north of the river. Moreover, the local commander Lupicinus then attempted to disrupt the coherence even of the admitted Tervingi. Inviting many of their leaders to dinner in Marcianople, he sprang a trap; Fritigern escaped only with difficulty, Alavivus is never heard of again. The kidnap attempt, not surprisingly, sparked off a general revolt (XXXI.4–5).

Ammianus implies that the trap was Lupicinus' initiative but this does not ring true. A senior local commander (who referred back to Valens before admitting the Tervingi) is hardly likely to have attacked those whom

[32] The argument of Sinor (1977) ch. 1 is very suggestive. Lindner (1981) argued that the Huns had given up horses, but his argument incorporates the misconception that Attila's army was composed entirely of Huns, when we know that their Germanic subjects also fought (mainly on foot). By Lindner's calculations, there would be enough grazing for horses for at least 10,000–15,000 Huns in the middle Danube; I would not expect the Hunnic core of the empire to have been much larger.

[33] Heather (1986).

he knew to be his emperor's welcome allies. Hijacking important tribal leaders was anyway a standard feature of Roman frontier policy. The key to this apparent contradiction between Valens' reported happiness and Roman action is provided by events on the eastern frontier. As the Goths approached the Danube, Valens was confronting Persia over Armenia. Most of Valens' troops were committed to this theatre, and it took two years to disentangle them for war in the Balkans. Policy towards the Goths was thus actually dictated by the non-availability of reinforcements for the Balkans. The Roman empire had previously resettled many immigrants within its borders, but only on its own terms, subduing them thoroughly first and breaking them up into small groups which were spread widely over the map. In 376, the empire was in no position to enforce such policies, and may well have had just enough troops in the Balkans to attempt to keep one of the two groups out. The Tervingi were admitted only because Valens had no other available option.[34]

This perspective is vitally important because much of the subsequent dynamic of Gotho–Roman affairs would be lost if it were thought that the Romans had entered into the relationship voluntarily. The Goths too were hesitant. They reached the decision to seek asylum inside the Roman empire only after lengthy consultation (*diuque deliberans*, as Ammianus puts it: XXXI.3.8), and remained suspicious of Roman motives and policy. Even after the Tervingi had been admitted, their leaders remained in contact with the excluded Greuthungi. Alavivus and Fritigern advanced only slowly from the Danube because they knew that the Greuthungi had forced a crossing and wanted to give them time to catch up (XXXI.5.3–4). The Goths were thus seeking to establish a united front against the Roman state.[35]

Immediately after the revolt, the Romans could do little because of the shortage of troops. Lupicinus was defeated, and Gothic raiding parties from probably both the Greuthungi and the Tervingi ranged far and wide in search of food and plunder. In 377, Valens managed to detach some troops from the east, and these in combination with some western forces drove the raiders north of the Haemus mountains. A head-on confrontation (probably near Ad Salices in the Dobrudja) ended in a bloody draw, and an attempt to hold the line of the Haemus in autumn 377 failed when the Goths negotiated the assistance of some Huns and Alans. By 378, Valens had extricated himself from the east, and entered the Balkans with the majority of his mobile troops. His nephew and co-emperor Gratian

[34] Heather, *Goths and Romans* 128–35 against the prevailing consensus which takes the sources at face value. Valens and Persia: Amm. Marc. XXVI.4.6; XXVII.12; XXIX.1; XXX.2. Hijacking tribal leaders: Amm. Marc. XXI.4.1–5; XXVII.10.3; XXIX.4.2ff.; 6.5; XXX.1.18–21 (though note XXIX.6.5 for an authorized attack). Valens' delight may reflect a lost speech of Themistius: Heather, *Goths and Romans* 134.

[35] According to Eunapius (fr. 59 Blockley), the Goths may have sworn an oath never to let any Roman blandishment divert them from overthrowing the empire. Much was made of this by Thompson (1963), but it is impossible to be certain of its veracity: Heather, *Goths and Romans* 139–40.

was in the meantime bringing a large force from the west. Between them, they no doubt hoped to drive the Goths beyond the Danube and/or enforce a more usual mode of settlements on any Goths left south of the river. But Gratian was delayed by problems on the Rhine, and Valens, moved by jealousy of his nephew's successes there, refused to wait. A mistaken report that he was facing only half the Goths led him to commit his forces to battle just outside the city of Adrianople on 9 August 378. All the Goths were present, however, and the fighting started before the Romans were fully deployed. Valens and two-thirds of his army (probably 10,000–15,000 men) were killed; the triumphant Goths swarmed over the Balkans, even contemplating a siege of Constantinople (Amm. Marc. XXXI.6–16).[36]

Gratian seems to have made no further moves against the Goths in 378, and it was only in January 379 that Theodosius, replacing Valens as eastern emperor, was given command of the Gothic war. Establishing himself in Thessalonica, he was mainly concerned in 379 to rebuild the eastern army. Deserters were rounded up, new recruits (Roman and barbarian) drafted, and veteran regiments transferred from the east. The Goths moved west from Thrace, where they were probably running short of food, to Dacia and Upper Moesia in Illyricum. In 380, again perhaps driven by hunger, the Goths divided. The Greuthungi of Alatheus and Saphrac moved north-west into Pannonia, while Fritigern moved south-west towards Theodosius. The fate of the Greuthungi is unclear; they may have been checked by Gratian. Further south, Theodosius' new army fell apart in battle and, ceding control of operations to Gratian, he moved on to Constantinople. In 381, Gratian's troops drove Fritigern's Goths east from Illyricum, and a lengthy process of negotiation culminated in an agreement formalized on 3 October 382.[37]

The terms of the peace reflected the rough military balance established in six years of warfare. The Romans had been unable to defeat the Goths in all-out battle; the Goths had, however, suffered heavy casualties and been forced to curb any ambitions for an independent kingdom. The Roman state granted the Goths land for farming, and allowed them to maintain their own laws. To this extent, the agreement broke with tradition and gave the Goths considerable autonomy within the imperial frontier. In return, the Goths owed military service, and the Roman state refused to recognize any leading individual as overall leader of the Goths. Fritigern had clearly

[36] The extent of Roman losses at Adrianople and the precise moment when the Tervingi and Greuthungi united in revolt are the only major issues. For discussion and refs.: Heather, *Goths and Romans* 146–7.

[37] The main source is Zos. IV.24–34 (after Eunapius): a better account than is usually thought: Heather, *Goths and Romans* 147–56; Appendix B. It is also generally held that Gratian made a separate peace with the Greuthungi, but the reconsideration of Zosimus undermines this view.

had such ambitions, asking Valens before Adrianople to recognize him as *rex socius et amicus* (Amm. Marc. XXXI.12.9): the traditional title accorded fully recognized allied kings. Fritigern's exact fate is unclear, but he is not mentioned after 380 (nor, indeed, are Alatheus and Saphrac), and it seems pretty clear that, even if he were still alive, the Romans would not have been ready, in 382, to grant honours to the victor of Adrianople.

Face had been saved, then, to a certain extent, but public opinion required reassurance, and Themistius again attempted to make the best of the situation. A series of orations between 381 and 383 gradually built up the case that it was better to conquer the Goths by friendship than by violence, and his oration on the actual peace agreement stated that Theodosius could have utterly defeated the Goths if he had wanted to. This should not be believed, but shows how carefully policy had to be presented to fit the expectations of its audience. Themistius also looked forward to the time when the Goths would be totally absorbed into Roman provincial society.[38]

The treaty of 382 held more or less until the death of Theodosius in 395. In one incident, a crowd lynched a Goth in Constantinople (Lib. *Or.* XIX.22); in another, a regular garrison unit on the Danube seems to have attacked a force of Goths; the commander of the regular unit was disciplined, presumably to forestall a general Gothic uprising (Zos. IV.40). The emperor also invited Gothic leaders regularly to dine with him (Eunap. fr. 59 Blockley): a channel of communication through which the difficulties of coexistence could be eased away. This period of reasonable calm was first punctuated and then brought to an end, however, by major revolts associated with the two occasions on which Theodosius obtained military service from the Goths. In 387, he waged war on the usurper Maximus, mobilizing the Goths *en masse*. Some rebelled before the campaign started (suborned, it is said, by Maximus), but a much larger revolt followed the Goths' return to the Balkans after Theodosius' victory. This was eventually solved by negotiation, but a campaign in 392–3 against a second usurper, Eugenius, suggests its root cause. In 393, the Goths found themselves in the front line at the battle of the Frigidus and suffered heavy casualties in fierce fighting (the sources say 10,000). Orosius commented that the battle saw two victories for Theodosius: first, a usurper had been defeated, and, second, Gothic numbers had been heavily eroded (VII.35.19). Where such attitudes prevailed, the Goths had every reason to be suspicious of Roman motives, and it seems likely that already on the Maximus campaign they had realized that casualties incurred in Roman civil wars threatened their continued independence. The Roman state tolerated Gothic autonomy only

[38] Them. *Or.* XIV–XVI; on the peace more generally, Heather, *Goths and Romans* ch. 5; Wolfram, *Goths* 131ff.; Chrysos (1972) ch. 4.

because it had no choice; should Gothic manpower be whittled away, that necessity would disappear.[39]

Soon after the Eugenius campaign, therefore, this time under the leadership of Alaric, the Goths again revolted, Theodosius' death in early 395 presenting them with the perfect opportunity. Alaric is a somewhat mysterious figure. He had played some role in the revolt which followed the Maximus campaign, but it has been doubted that in 395 he led a general revolt of the Goths. His demands in 395 – that he wanted to 'command an army' rather than just barbarians (Zos. v.5.4) – better fits, it has been suggested, a man wanting a career in the Roman army (a path followed by Gothic nobles such as Fravitta and Modares) than a traditional tribal leader of the Goths. But, as we have seen, the Frigidus provided the Goths with every reason to revolt, and, from 399 at least, Romans were seeing Alaric's enterprise as a general Gothic revolt; Alaric had also had sufficient followers to stand up to Stilicho, ruler of the western empire, in both 395 and 397. As to the military command, Alaric was to demand a Roman generalship at intervals throughout the next fifteen years, even after 408 when he certainly commanded a large force of Goths. Such a command cannot have been incompatible with kingship of the Goths, therefore, and was probably designed to strengthen Alaric's hold over his followers. From 405, when we have more details, a generalship for Alaric was always associated with a large annual payment in gold for his followers (notionally, perhaps, their pay). A generalship also implied Roman acceptance of Alaric as the overall ruler of the Goths – something Theodosius had been able to deny Fritigern or Alatheus and Saphrac in 382.[40]

By 395, therefore, Alaric was the Goths' most powerful leader, and probably controlled most of the Tervingi and Greuthungi settled under the treaty of 382. Only Ammianus, of our sources, makes the distinction between these originally separate groups, and writers of the 390s and 400s talk as if there had only ever been one group of Goths. This is indicative of an important transformation; Tervingi and Greuthungi had become one. As early as the Adrianople campaign, they had co-operated in the face of Roman power. Another facilitating factor was the eclipse of established dynasties. The Huns had undermined one set of leaders before the Goths reached the Danube (Athanaric, Ermenaric and Vithimer), and the Romans another by 382 (Fritigern, Alatheus and Saphrac). The dynastic interests which might have kept the groups apart were thus swept away, leaving the

[39] The connection between military service and both revolts is established by Heather, *Goths and Romans* 183–8. Other accounts: Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops* 51ff.; Wolfram, *Goths* 136ff.

[40] Revisionary view of Alaric: Liebeschuetz *Barbarians and Bishops* 51ff. More detailed counter-argument: Heather, *Goths and Romans* 193ff. Claud. *Bell. Get.* 166ff.; 610ff., dating from 402, and Synesius, *De Regno* ed. Terzaghi 19–21, in 399, both characterize Alaric as the leader of a general revolt of the treaty Goths. See further Heather (1988).

way open for a new overall leader to control the newly united Goths. Alaric's part in the revolt after the Maximus campaign was probably an important factor in his rise to power. It was also furthered in 392 by a struggle between two other leaders, Eriulph and Fravitta, ending in the former's death and the latter's enforced flight to escape the workings of feud. Two potential rivals thus disappeared in one fell swoop.[41]

The next fifteen years saw Alaric attempt to renegotiate with a succession of imperial regimes the terms agreed in 382. Between 395 and 400, manoeuvres were assisted by Roman disunity. Theodosius' sons were minors at his death: Honorius in the west, ruled by Stilicho, Arcadius in the east, ruled by first Rufinus and then Eutropius. Stilicho had designs on the whole empire, and, in both 395 and 397, intervened in the east ostensibly against Alaric's Goths, but with the real aim of securing power in Constantinople. In 397, Eutropius (still dealing with the Hunnic raid through the Caucasus: see p. 502 above) preferred to negotiate with Alaric rather than submit to Stilicho. The full terms of the peace are unknown, but Alaric did get his coveted generalship, and this no doubt included other, particularly financial, benefits for his followers.

The treaty left Eutropius open, however, to accusations of having pandered to 'barbarians'. This was one of the prime charges made against him by Stilicho, a line strongly echoed in the east by Synesius' *De Regno*, a political pamphlet probably issued on behalf of Aurelian, one of Eutropius' rivals. In the summer of 399, Eutropius' regime fell, and after two years when power oscillated among a number of figures, Aurelian's brother Caesarius finally secured his position in summer 401. Almost immediately Alaric moved his followers to Italy, seeking a deal from Stilicho. That Alaric should have abandoned the Balkans and the eastern political establishment with which he had enjoyed some success suggests that Caesarius' regime took a similar line on Gothic policy to that advocated in the *De Regno*, and was refusing further negotiations.[42] Alaric's first invasion of Italy was no more successful. Crossing the Dinaric Alps in autumn 401, he fought two battles against Stilicho in the following year: Verona and Pollentia. Both were draws, but they were enough to check Alaric's designs; Stilicho seems to have parried the Goths until logistic problems forced their withdrawal. By 403, Alaric was back in the Balkans, an outlaw rejected by both halves of the empire.

[41] Eunap. fr. 59 Blockley; Zos. IV.55.3–56.1 (on the date, Wolfram, *Goths* 147). Significance: Heather, *Goths and Romans* 186–7, 190, 196–9. The incident is also discussed by Thompson (1963).

[42] Fundamental is Cameron, Alan, *Claudian* chs. 4, 6, 474–7; cf. Heather, *Goths and Romans* 199–208; Heather (1988). 399 also saw a revolt under Tribigild of followers of Odotheus settled in Asia Minor (see p. 502 above). They were eventually incorporated into the power-base of the Gothic general Gainas. Gainas has been seen by Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops* 100ff. as potentially an alternative Alaric, but he should rather be seen as a would-be Stilicho: more interested in becoming imperial regent than outright Gothic leader: see the translation and commentary on Synesius *De Providentia* by Cameron and Long, *Barbarians and Politics*.

He was rescued from this precarious position by a further bout of imperial rivalry, when Stilicho fell out with Caesarius' successor Anthemius, and sought to wrest eastern Illyricum from his control. To this end, he negotiated a joint campaign with Alaric, agreeing that Alaric should receive in return the coveted generalship and granting his followers a large annual payment. The campaign was delayed, however, first by Radagaisus' invasion of Italy in 405–6, and then by the Rhine crossing of 406, which also provoked a series of usurpations. By 408, the usurper Constantine III had spread his power to the Alps and Pyrenees, and broken Stilicho's hold on Honorius. There followed a *coup* in which Stilicho and his son were arrested and killed.[43] These events furthered Alaric's position in two ways. First, the collapse of political unity in the west allowed him to move safely into Italy. Second, after Stilicho's death, Alaric received substantial reinforcements. On defeating Radagaisus, Stilicho had drafted a large number of his followers (probably over 10,000 men) into his army. In the *coup*, their families, quartered in Italian cities, were subject to pogrom, causing the menfolk to join Alaric. At a stroke, he increased his forces by perhaps as much as fifty per cent.[44]

For the next eighteen months, to August 410, events followed a set pattern. Alaric sat outside Rome and threatened to sack it unless the imperial authorities in Ravenna negotiated; his demands are well documented. At most, he offered a military alliance, wanting in return a generalship for himself, a large annual payment in gold, substantial corn supplies, and his troops to be settled in the Venetias and Raetia, where they could control Ravenna and routes over the Alps (Zos. v.48.3). The level of ambition here is remarkable. When these demands were rejected, and despite the fact that the Roman position was no stronger, he then offered an alliance in return for just a land settlement in Noricum (well away from the political heart of the empire), and some corn each year (v.50.3). Even contemporaries found this surprising, but it suggests that Alaric expected the weakness of the western empire to be merely a passing phenomenon.[45]

None the less, no agreement followed. Honorius was willing to sacrifice Rome rather than negotiate, and, in disgust, Alaric finally sacked the city on 24 August 410. Indeed, Alaric failed to achieve any agreement before his death from disease shortly afterwards; the next year, his brother-in-law and successor Athaulf led the Goths, now short of food, to Gaul. There Athaulf tried a mixture of force and persuasion to obtain advantageous terms. He first suppressed one usurper, Jovinus, then set up another of his own: the Roman senator Attalus (Alaric had earlier done the same outside

[43] Cameron, Alan, *Claudian* ch. 7; Matthews, *Western Aristocracies* ch. 10.
[44] Zos. v.35.5–6; cf. Heather, *Goths and Romans* 213–14.
[45] See further Matthews, *Western Aristocracies* ch. 11.

Rome). His last move was to marry Honorius' sister Galla Placidia, who had been captured in Rome. The marriage was celebrated in Roman splendour in a villa at Narbonne, and when they had a son, they named him Theodosius (Olympiod. 18; 22; 24; 26 Blockley). Honorius had no children, and the new Theodosius was grandson to one emperor by that name and first cousin to another (Arcadius had been succeeded by Theodosius II in 408). Athaulf clearly had it in mind to become the power behind the imperial throne. This was also the tenor of his famous remark that he had first thought to replace the Roman empire – Romania – with Gothia, but then decided to use Gothic arms to uphold Roman rule (Oros. VII.43.2–3).[46]

But Honorius' general Fl. Constantius had other ideas. He first defeated various usurpers to reunite the western army under central control, and then turned on the Goths, subduing them by blockade and starvation. This aroused latent Gothic discontent towards Athaulf. After he himself had been mortally wounded, one Sergeric mounted a *coup*, killing Athaulf's brother and children. Sergeric himself lasted only seven days, before another *coup* replaced him with Vallia, no known relation of the previous kings. Under Roman pressure, instability thus returned to Gothic politics. Alaric had gathered under his rule elements from three previously separate Gothic groups: the Tervingi and Greuthungi of 376, together with many of Radagaisus' followers. His command of this new Gothic group rested on his own ability; there was no established dynastic tradition to exploit. In such a situation, there were many potential heirs for Alaric's position. Vallia was succeeded in turn by Theoderic I in 417–18, and it was only thanks to his longevity and fertility that a ruling dynasty finally established itself. A huge revolution in Gothic society, started some fifty years earlier by the Huns, had finally come to fruition in the creation of the Visigoths.[47]

Theoderic I also established a new order in Gotho–Roman relations. The efforts of Fl. Constantius constrained Vallia to make an initial agreement in 416, which seems to have been confirmed by Theoderic in 418. Its terms are nowhere fully recorded, but the Goths were settled in the Garonne valley between Toulouse and Bordeaux. No payments in gold are mentioned, and neither Vallia nor Theoderic received a generalship. The limited evidence suggests that their economic well-being was guaranteed by grants of land, rather than tax revenue. With the Goths clinging to the Atlantic seaboard far away from Ravenna, the agreement seems to have been closer to Alaric's minimum demands (see p. 513 above).

Compared to the limited advantages they gained under the treaty of 382, however, the concessions the Goths had extracted were considerable. The

[46] Matthews, *Western Aristocracies* chs. 12–13.

[47] The process: Heather, *Goths and Romans* 28–33; 220–1. Subsequent dynastic events: Wolfram, *Goths* 173ff.

empire had been forced to recognize their king's leadership, and even sent hostages to his court after 418. Nor is there any sign after 418 that hopes of snuffing out Gothic independence lingered in imperial minds. The new social unit created by Alaric and sustained by his successors was much larger than anything that had gone before, and was hence that much more difficult to defeat. In addition, after the Rhine crossing of 406, the Goths were no longer the only tribal group established on Roman territory, and the Romans preferred to negotiate with them rather than with the newer arrivals. Goths and Romans thus co-operated in Spain, destroying one out of two Vandal groups, and savaging various groups of Alans. For the Romans, the Goths had become a lesser evil, and, with that in mind, they were willing to countenance their autonomous settlement within the Roman frontier and sanction it with a formal alliance. The evolution of that settlement into an independent kingdom is a story for another volume.[48]

[48] See generally Heather, *Goths and Romans* 221–4; Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops* 71ff., esp. on the economics of the settlement against Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans*, esp. 103ff. followed by Wolfram, *Goths* 222ff. (Wolfram discusses other aspects of the treaty at 170ff.). Another line of argument has concentrated on the reasons for picking Aquitaine: Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians* 251–5 v. Wallace-Hadrill (1961); neither really considers the fact that the Goths had to be put somewhere.

CHAPTER 17

THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS AND FIRST SETTLEMENTS

I. N. WOOD

In the mid fourth century the barbarians who inhabited the territories beyond the Rhine and the Danube frontiers presented no great threat to the survival of the Roman empire. That is not to say that they were peaceful neighbours; the Franks and the Saxons on the lower Rhine mounted numerous raids into Germania, Belgica and along the coasts of Gaul; and there was intermittent fighting against Goths settled north of the Danube. Nevertheless, these peoples could be held in check by a mixture of military force and diplomacy; military reprisals were directed against the Franks and Saxons, and the Burgundians were persuaded to take Rome's side against the Alamans.

To a large extent these policies worked because they dealt with settled peoples. Although the names of the tribes were not names which would have been familiar to the early empire, and although the tribes themselves were not static units but rather confederations which expanded and contracted according to the prestige of individual leaders, they were not nomadic. The Burgundians were said to be so-called because they lived in *burgi*[1] – almost certainly a false etymology, but one which is revealing of their way of life. They were also said to be brothers of the Romans,[2] but this origin legend probably has more to do with fourth-century politics than any real ethnogenesis. For the Gothic Tervingi, the fourth-century *Passion of St Saba* reveals a world of peasant villages dominated by a pagan aristocratic élite.

The social hierarchies of the Tervingi which are known from the *Passion of St Saba* are an important antidote to the notion that the early Germans were egalitarian peoples. Such a notion could equally be challenged by archaeological finds, which provide evidence of distinctions in wealth and social status. There were also political hierarchies, culminating in the office of judge, which seems to have been held, in the middle of the fourth century at least, by the members of one family: the best known of the judges is Athanaric.[3] Although there were barbarian groups who lacked

[1] Oros. VII.32.12. [2] Amm. Marc. XXVIII.5.11.

[3] Amm. Marc. XXVII.5.6. For an interpretation of Tervingian judgeship see Heather, *Goths and Romans* 97–107, and ch. 16 above.

royal leadership, most notably the Saxons, in many respects Athanaric's judgeship does appear to have been monarchical. Nevertheless it probably differed from the kingship which was subsequently created amongst the Goths, once they were inside the empire. Here the military and economic needs caused by migration, and the pressures of imperial politics, created what was in many respects a new type of ruler. Similar transformations can be assumed even for those peoples, like the Franks and the Burgundians, who already had kings before they crossed on to Roman soil.

The life of the settled Tervingian community was changed dramatically by the arrival of the Huns, a nomadic, Asiatic people, in 376. They had already overthrown the Gothic empire of Ermenaric, to the north of the Black Sea, and now they destroyed the Tervingian state which was guided by Athanaric. The majority of the Tervingi decided to abandon their homelands, and under the leadership of Alavivus and Fritigern petitioned to cross the Danube and enter the Roman empire. With this crossing, and the officially approved settlement of the Tervingian Goths in the Balkans in 376, the narrative of the barbarian invasions and settlements can be said to have begun.

This period of invasion can usefully be distinguished within the larger history of barbarian migration and assimilation into the Roman world. Study of the migrations properly involves not just the relatively well evidenced entry of the barbarians into the empire and subsequent movement within it, but also the legendary origins of the Germanic peoples in Scandinavia and their journeys through eastern Europe as recorded by Jordanes and later, for the Lombards, by Paul the Deaon. The reality behind these accounts is difficult to fathom: the origin legends which Jordanes recounts are likely to have been influenced by fifth- and sixth-century politics, and also by the requirements of narrative history, although they may still contain kernels of information relating to particular leading families and stages of tribal development. As a result, an understanding of migration history involves the political and cultural history of the post-Roman period as well as the archaeology of the Roman Iron Age in northern and eastern Europe. The history of the assimilation of the barbarians, by contrast, includes the earlier history of the empire, which had long settled barbarian groups within its borders, sometimes for military reasons, and often with social repercussions in its frontier zones. The barbarian invasions were only one element in these larger histories.

The entry of the Tervingi into the empire was followed in 377 by an uprising of the settlers and, a year later, by the defeat and death of the emperor Valens at the battle of Adrianople. As a result, the western emperor Gratian despatched Theodosius to deal with the problems in the east, and within a year some semblance of order had been restored. Apparently in 382 a treaty was concluded, whereby the Visigoths were

resettled in the north of the provinces of Thrace and Dacia. The death of Theodosius in 395, however, rendered the treaty void. It also left the empire divided between his sons Arcadius and Honorius, with their respective courts. In the ensuing years the Visigoths took advantage of political infighting to leave the lands to which they had been assigned, and to move south, under the leadership of Alaric I. In 397 a new treaty was made with Theodosius' elder son, the eastern emperor Arcadius, who granted the Goths territory and Alaric, perhaps, high military command. Four years later Alaric and his people set out once again, this time for the western empire, and from 401 until 412 they presented a problem to the government of Italy, most notably in 410, when they captured and sacked Rome. Nor were they the only invaders of Italy in this period; in 405–6, another group of Goths, led by Radagaisus, entered the peninsula, but it was largely destroyed by Stilicho at the battle of Fiesole.

Meanwhile, supposedly on the last day of December 406, groups of Vandals, Alans and Sueves crossed the frozen Rhine. The pre-migration histories of these peoples are more obscure than those of either the Visigoths or the Burgundians. They neither attracted a Jordanes to write up their origin legends, nor did they impose themselves firmly enough on the consciousness of the Romans to have their ethnogenesis recorded in passing by one of the Latin or Greek historians. Their social structure is illuminated by no equivalent to the *Passion of St Saba*, although the Alans appear to have differed from the others in being nomadic pastoralists. The cause of their migration, however, is likely to have been the same as that which pushed the Tervingi across the Danube: pressure from the Huns. Something of their itinerary, beginning in eastern Europe to the north of Pannonia and Moesia, can be reconstructed from passing references in contemporary sources, but it is only at the end of 406 that they enter the limelight.

After they had crossed the Rhine they plundered the provinces of Germany and Gaul for some two years. The devastation which they caused is well known in general terms from the rhetorical outbursts of Gallic writers lamenting the smoking ruins of the north-east. In 409, however, they moved on to Spain, and around the year 411 they established territorial bases for themselves – the Alans in Lusitania and Carthaginiensis, the Siling Vandals in Baetica, and the Hasding Vandals with the Sueves in Galicia. Settled in Spain, they became the focus for attacks launched by the successors of Alaric and his followers, now known to history as Visigoths. Between 416 and 418 the Silings were destroyed, as were the Alans, at the hands of the Visigothic king Wallia. In order to understand the role of the Visigoths in all this, it is necessary to return to their movements after their departure from Italy in 412.

Having entered Gaul, they took over much of Aquitaine, from the

Mediterranean to Bordeaux, and by 414 their king Athaulf had set himself up in Narbonne, where he married the emperor's sister Galla Placidia, who had fallen into Visigothic hands at the time of the sack of Rome. Within the next year Athaulf and the Visigoths were driven out of Gaul, and moved to Barcelona, where Athaulf was murdered. His successor but one, Wallia, then made a treaty with Honorius, and it was as his agent that Wallia embarked on the destruction of the Alans and Vandals, before being called back, with his people, by the Roman general Constantius, to be settled in Aquitaine, in the region around Toulouse.

This withdrawal of the Goths left the Vandals and the Sueves of Galicia as the only substantial barbarian groups in Spain, and within a year the former attempted to annihilate the latter, only to be prevented by the intervention of the *comes Hispaniarum* Asterius. Two years later, apparently in 422, the *magister militum* Castinus attempted to destroy the Vandals, but was himself defeated and killed. Subsequently the Vandals moved south, reaching Seville, Cartagena and even the Balearics around 425. They nevertheless continued their wars against the Sueves right up until their departure for Africa, possibly in 427, but probably 429. Thereafter, having crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, under the leadership of the king of the Hasding Vandals Gaiseric, they headed eastwards for the Proconsular province, reaching Hippo in the summer of 430, shortly before the death of Augustine. Five years later, following the failure of imperial attempts to defeat them, a treaty was signed, granting territory, which seems largely to have been in the northern part of the province of Numidia, for the Vandals to settle. In the event, this did not content Gaiseric, who besieged Carthage in 439. His actions prompted the intervention of the eastern emperor Theodosius II, who sent a fleet in 441, only to recall it the following year, leaving Gaiseric to negotiate a new division in 442, which left him with all of Africa Proconsularis and Byzacena, and much of Numidia and Tripolitana.

These two treaties with the Vandals coincide with the dominance within the western empire of the general Aetius, who was also responsible for a number of other barbarian settlements in about the year 440. They include two grants of land in Gaul to the Alans, the first of *agri deserti* belonging to the city of Valence, and the second of territory in an area defined as Gallia ulterior, presumably to the north of the Loire. It is possible that some concession was made to the Saxons in Britain in the same period. More certain is the settlement of the Burgundians in a region called Sapaudia, seemingly to the north of Geneva.[4] This move apparently marks a change in the policy of Aetius towards the Burgundians, whom he had earlier defeated and almost destroyed with the aid of the Huns. His new policy

[4] Duparc (1958).

can be compared with the settlement of the Visigoths in Aquitaine, but at the same time it effectively marks the end of the deliberate settlement of barbarians on the Roman soil of the western empire. Henceforth, concessions to the barbarians would be much closer in spirit to the treaties made with the Vandals – that is, they were little more than official recognitions of barbarian expansion and conquest.

While such a general outline of the barbarian settlements is not difficult to establish, any attempt to provide greater detail or to offer a fuller interpretation of the events runs into considerable problems. This is true even at the basic level of chronology, for although some events can be dated with certainty, particularly where a number of overlapping sources are in agreement over the information which they contain, other events are variously dated by different sources, while some are only recorded in one source whose chronology is known from elsewhere to be suspect. Nor are problems of this sort confined to the evidence for minor events. For instance, the settlement of the Visigoths in Aquitaine is dated in three chronicle sources, but each source assigns the event to a different date. Prosper of Aquitaine, who might reasonably be thought to have been best placed to provide an accurate date, puts the grant of Aquitaine to Wallia into the consulship of Monaxius and Plinta – that is, 419. Historians have, however, preferred to follow Hydatius, writing in the far north-west of Spain, who uses regnal and Olympiad dates to identify the year of the grant as 418. The *Chronicle of 452*, which is at least in part a compilation of the 450s, probably made in southern Gaul, differs radically by recording a transfer of Aquitaine to the Visigoths, admittedly not necessarily the same transfer, under the year 414, according to a regnal and Olympiad system of dating identical to that used by Hydatius.

The oddities of the *Chronicle of 452* are somewhat more alarming when it comes to events for which it provides the only evidence, as in the case of the series of grants and settlements made by Aetius around the year 440. Here, moreover, there is the added complication that at this stage in the chronicle the regnal and Olympiad dates are out of kilter, since an extra Olympiad was erroneously added at the end of the reign of Honorius. Thus the cession of Valence to the Alans is dated by the chronicler both to 440 and to 444; the fall of Britain to the Saxons to 441/2 and 445/6; the submission of Gallia ulterior to the Alans to 442 and 446; the grant of Sapaudia to the Burgundians to 443 and 447; and the capture of Carthage by the Vandals to 444 and 448.[5] Of these events, only those relating to Britain and Carthage are attested elsewhere. The first of them is placed in 440 in the *Chronicle of 511*, while both Prosper and Cassiodorus assign the second to 439. It is possible that the chronicler has confused the capture of

[5] Wood (1987); Jones and Casey (1988) 393–6.

Carthage with the official ratification of its transfer to Vandalic hands, but even the date of that event, 442, does not coincide with either of the chronologies in the *Chronicle of 452*. Clearly it would be unwise to place much faith in the dates given to events which are attested nowhere else.

Chronology, however, is only the simplest of the problems relating to the barbarian invasions and settlements. More important are questions relating to their scale. For the Tervingi and their successors in the Balkans, figures of between 10,000 and 20,000 fighting men may well have been the norm, with Alaric perhaps commanding 30,000 men in Italy.[6] The size of most other groups is more difficult to assess. Jerome estimated the numbers of the Burgundians at 80,000 during the reign of Valentinian I – that is, before the disasters inflicted on them by Aetius and his Hunnic allies.[7] Orosius follows Jerome, but provides the additional piece of information that this was the number of their fighting men.[8] Unfortunately, there is no way of testing the accuracy of Jerome's figure, or of Orosius' gloss. Even more questionable is the number of Vandals said to have crossed to Africa with Gaiseric. Alarmingly, Victor of Vita records this as being, once again, 80,000,[9] which is a number also given by Procopius.[10] It might be thought that Procopius was here following Victor, who might, equally, have taken the figure from Jerome or Orosius. There are, however, crucial differences between the accounts of Victor and of Procopius, which render their figures suspect from another point of view. According to Procopius, Gaiseric appointed eighty chiliarchs, each of whom was supposed to command a thousand men. This apparently marked an increase in the numbers of Vandals and Alans, who had previously amounted to only 50,000. Victor's account provides a different solution to the increase in Vandal numbers, for he explains that Gaiseric achieved this figure of 80,000 by counting everyone, including slaves, and he did this in order to make his following sound more frightening than it was. Numbers, in other words, could be part of a propaganda exercise. Elsewhere there is even less to go on, although in the case of the Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain the logistics of sea-crossings, especially in barbarian ships, can scarcely have allowed large numbers to cross at any one time. In short, any attempt to compute the real size of an invading force, or to estimate the ratio of fighting men to others, can be nothing but guesswork.

There is a further difficulty in assessing the scale of the invasions, and that is the fluidity in the composition of any barbarian tribe. Procopius' figure of 80,000 is of Vandals and Alans. The latter had probably joined the Hasdings after they had been defeated by Wallia. Later, too, Gelimer claimed to rule over both peoples.[11] Probably the remnants of the Silings

[6] Heather, *Goths and Romans* 332–489, 213–14. [7] Jer. *Chron.* 2389. [8] Oros. VII.32.11.
[9] Vict: Vit. 1.1.2; Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans* 231–4. [10] Procop. *BV* 1.5.18.
[11] Procop. *BV* 1.24.3.

had also joined Gaiseric. In addition, there are said to have been Goths in his army.[12] Such confederations, under a successful war-leader, are likely to have been the norm. Nor would free barbarians have been the only people to join a victorious army; Zosimus claims that the numbers of Visigoths who withdrew from the siege of Rome in 408 were inflated to 40,000 by the presence of runaway slaves, some of whom may have been the enslaved survivors of Radagaisus' army.[13] Equally, after a major defeat, a barbarian group could dissolve, as happened to the Alans and the Silings in Spain. Thus, although the sources appear to record the movements, victories and defeats of clearly labelled units, in reality the composition of a tribe was constantly changing.

Not only are the composition and size of a Germanic tribe open to question, so too is the nature of the barbarian settlements. Traditionally they have been interpreted in the light of two clauses from fifth- and sixth-century law codes. The first of these, which is contained in the Code of Euric, dating to the period between 466 and 485, speaks about a Roman *tertia*, implying that the Goths held two such *tertiae* for every one held by the Romans.[14] The second comes from the *Liber Constitutionum* issued by the Burgundian king Sigismund in 517, although the law in question is probably earlier.[15] It too refers to a partition into thirds, but is more specific, speaking of the Burgundians (*populus noster*) as having two-thirds of the land and one-third of the slaves. It also refers to an equal division of woodland into halves. Between them these laws have led historians to assume that in 418 the Goths and in 443 the Burgundians were given two-thirds of the lands, one-third of the slaves and a half of the woodlands in the areas in which they were settled. Unfortunately everything about this interpretation, including the chronology, is questionable. There is nothing in earlier sources to suggest that these clauses represent the first stage of settlement, and there is good reason to believe that the type of settlement changed over time. This is certainly the case for the Burgundians, since the clause of the *Liber Constitutionum* in question, 54, itself makes it quite clear that there had been prior allocations of land made by the king and his predecessors to their followers, and that the grant of *tertiae* was only to those who had not benefited from this earlier largesse. This grant was, therefore, not part of the original settlement of the Burgundians, nor was it even made in the reigns of the first Gibichung kings to be established on Roman soil. Further, an edict appended to the *Liber Constitutionum* reveals a subsequent set of allocations, probably made in the 520s, in which land was divided equally between Romans and barbarians.[16] In short, the laws refer to at least four allotments made to the Burgundians, none of which need be the same

[12] Possid. *V. Aug.* XXVIII.4. [13] Zos. V.42. Heather, *Goths and Romans* 332–489, 214.
[14] *Codex Eurici* 277. [15] *Liber Constitutionum* 54; Wood (1986) 10.
[16] *Liber Constitutionum constitutio extravagans* 21, 12.

as that recorded in the *Chronicle of 452* or that recorded under the year 456 by Marius of Avenches. In the light of all this, it is clearly unwise to assume that evidence from the late fifth and early sixth centuries provides an accurate account of arrangements made in the first half of the fifth century.

Early information on the first settlements, therefore, is very slight. The chief material which can be said with certainty to relate to the allocation of lands to the Vandals, Alans, Sueves, Visigoths and Burgundians is to be found in the chronicles of Prosper and Hydatius and in the *Chronicle of 452*. Interestingly, each of these sources employs a different vocabulary. Prosper tends to refer to territory being handed over for habitation (*data ei*; *eis ad habitandum*).[17] A similar phrase is used once by Hydatius, who also refers to the acceptance and occupation of land (*occupant*; *acceperunt*), as well as the allocation of provinces (*sortiuntur*).[18] The *Chronicle of 452* talks about areas being handed over for partition (*partienda traduntur*; *dividendae . . . traditae fuerant*; *datur . . . dividenda*), and appears to make a distinction between such partition and possession, since the Alans in Gallia ulterior took possession of land by force after an initial division.[19] That all three sources sometimes use different vocabulary to describe the same event suggests that their terminology cannot be entirely technical – indeed, that none of it may be. Nevertheless, the use of the verb *sortiri* and of the noun *sors* by Hydatius could be an exception, since the second of these words is used in the later law codes with reference to barbarian settlement.

In the Burgundian *Liber Constitutionum* the word *sors* seems to refer to land held under a particular title, the *ius sortis* – that is, to the two-thirds allotment held by barbarian settlers,[20] and this is certainly a meaning of the term in the Code of Euric.[21] Although it is difficult to see a *sors* as anything other than a special kind of real estate in these two law codes, it is, nevertheless, possible that the word once had slightly different connotations, relating to an allocation of tax revenue due from an estate rather than to the land itself.[22] The Greek term *kleros* is thought to have the same meaning in the context of Vandalic landholding in Africa. There is, therefore, the possibility that at least a part of the original allotments to the barbarians was made up of a proportion of tax revenues rather than land. This interpretation has considerable attractions; redistribution of fiscal income would have been well within the competence of Roman tax officials; under such a system the barbarians would have been no drain on private resources, and would, therefore, not have alienated the provincials; moreover, although the imperial government would have been faced with a decline in revenue, the availability of Germanic troops to fight in support of the emperor would have been a compensation. Further, the revenues in

[17] Prosper, *Chron.* 1271, 1321. [18] Hydat. *Chron.* s.a. 411, 418. [19] *Chronicle of 452 s.a.* 440–3.
[20] *Liber Constitutionum* 14, 5. [21] *Codex Eurici* 277.
[22] Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans, passim*; Durliat (1988), 40.

question are likely to have been in kind, obviating the need for coin to pay barbarian soldiers: a point of considerable significance, given the decline of coinage in the western empire during the fifth century.

Hydatius, however, only uses the verb *sortiri* in the context of the Alan settlements in Lusitania and Carthaginiensis and the Siling settlements in Baetica, neither of which was organized or ratified by the imperial government. To this list the *Chronicle of 511* adds the settlements of the Vandals and Sueves in Galicia.[23] But, despite this addition, the *Chronicle of 511* appears to be following Hydatius in the entry in question, and other chronicles do not use the verb *sortiri*. Moreover, neither Hydatius nor the chronicler of 511 uses this vocabulary to describe other settlements. If the precise words used by Hydatius are important, then the allocation of fiscal income rather than land, even if it did take place, need not have been a widespread technique of accommodating the barbarians.

Commenting on other settlements, the chroniclers seem to imply that there was an allotment of land. This is true for the Visigoths in Aquitaine, the Alans in Valence and Gallia ulterior and the Burgundians in Sapaudia. For the first of these instances, the Byzantine historian Philostorgius provides additional information, referring specifically to the allocation of rations and land.[24] What such allocation might have entailed, however, is by no means certain. For instance, the barbarians may have been installed as tenants rather than as owners of estates; this at least is implied by the forcible seizure of possession from the landlords of Gallia ulterior by the Alans, subsequent to their original allocation. At the same time, as tenants or landlords, the barbarians are likely to have left the agricultural labour to the peasantry who were already established on the estates – in which case, they would have been little more than recipients of renders, which would explain the lack of Visigothic place-names in Aquitaine. Yet accommodation for the barbarians must also have been a significant factor in the allocation of estates, since it is unlikely that any barbarian group was small enough to be accommodated in military barracks, which in areas like Spain and Aquitaine, away from the empire's frontiers, were few and far between.

One other solution to the problem of accommodation which was unquestionably used was billeting. Paulinus of Pella in his poem the *Eucharisticon* comments that barbarian 'guests' could play an important role in protecting a 'host's' property.[25] Moreover, in the second half of the fifth century Sidonius Apollinaris lamented the presence of Burgundians who had been billeted on him.[26] The practice of quartering troops is also well known from the Roman period, and there is legislation to regulate it. There is even a reference to soldiers being apportioned one-third, or a half, of a

[23] *Chronicle of 511 s.a.* 413. [24] Philostorg. *HE* XII.4. [25] Paul. Pell. *Euchar.* ll. 282–90.
[26] Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* XII.

house, which has been thought to provide a precedent for the *tertiae* of the barbarians.[27] Further, among the words used to describe the obligation to provide imperial officials with accommodation is one which is also familiar from the Burgundian *Liber Constitutionum*: *hospitalitas*. In the Burgundian case, however, the word is used both in the context of accommodating officials in transit and to describe the allotment of land to a barbarian.[28] Indeed *ius hospitalitatis* and *ius sortis* are synonymous. Thus, just as the word *sors* seems to imply more in the context of the barbarian settlements than it might have done in that of the imperial fiscal system, so too the word *hospitalitas* encompasses much more with regard to barbarian settlement in the late fifth and early sixth centuries than it had over the quartering of imperial troops. The Roman practice of billeting, therefore, provided a model which could be developed for the settlement of the barbarians, but there is no evidence to show that, in its original form, it was one of the major methods employed to accommodate them, and while *hospitalitas* was crucial to land-allotment in the late fifth and early sixth centuries, it was a practice much extended from its Roman origins.

Although the scarcity of evidence may encourage the historian to attempt to reconstruct a single unified policy from what little there is to work on, it is likely that a considerable variety of policies were utilized in the accommodation and settlement of the barbarians. The possibilities seem to have ranged from simple billeting and diversion of fiscal revenue, through allocation of proportions of estates, to wholesale confiscation, as happened in Africa under Gaiseric. The policy employed is likely to have depended on such factors as the relative strengths in the positions of invaders, imperial officials and provincials at the precise moment of negotiation, as well as such factors as the availability of *agri deserti*, as attested at Valence. It is also probable that the earliest beneficiaries were the closest followers of the barbarian king involved: the actual distribution of Roman revenue or land would have been determined by the social structures of the barbarian groups, which were highly stratified. This is implied by the Burgundian evidence, where it is also clear that there could be more than one moment of distribution in the history of the settlement of a single tribe. Moreover, it is likely that the techniques of accommodation were being continuously developed over the period, and that this development was a crucial aspect of the settlement of barbarians. Thus, combining information from different regions, and from different moments in the development of the settlement, may well be a misleading method of embarking on the interpretation of the process.

In general, the evidence is not well suited to answering precise questions relating to the chronology, scale and nature of the barbarian settlements;

[27] *C.Th.* VII.8.5; Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans* 162–75. [28] *Liber Constitutionum* 38; 55, 2.

such issues seem not to have interested contemporary writers. Nevertheless, there is much to be learnt from a consideration of what information was thought worthy of record, and how that information was used. A considerable quantity of information relating to the activities of the Germanic peoples in the western empire in the opening decades of the fifth century is recorded in theological or moralizing works. Even the *Histories* of Orosius are best seen in their theological context, as a response to the pagan reaction to the disasters which were afflicting the empire, although the final chapters are perhaps rather more forthcoming about the horrors of the period than the intended scheme of the work allowed. It was left to Augustine to provide a full response to the pagans in the *De Civitate Dei*. In the anonymous *Carmen de Providentia Dei*, and the works of Orientius and Salvian, the theological and moral intentions of the writers are rather more in evidence, and the barbarians are used as one element in the battery of arguments put forward. How far these arguments actually involve a distortion of the facts is beyond investigation, and it is, therefore, dangerous to plunder such texts for detailed pieces of information.

One particularly problematic area is that of the Christianization of the barbarian peoples. It appears that Fritigern and his followers accepted Christianity as a condition for entering the empire in 376. In addition, a letter of Auxentius, relating to the Gothic bishop Ulfilas, throws some light on missionary work among the Visigoths. Inevitably they were converted to the orthodoxy of the mid fourth century, to which the emperor Valens subscribed, but which was subsequently condemned as Arianism.[29] The Visigoths may have been responsible for the initial process of evangelization among other Germanic peoples, who as a result became Arian and were therefore attacked by later church writers. Apart from the Visigoths, however, Orosius appears not to have recognized the early converts among the barbarians as being heretical. Indeed, he singles out the Christianity of the Huns, Sueves, Vandals and Burgundians as a mark of God's mercy.[30] This optimistic interpretation of the Christianization of these peoples is shown to be hollow by a cursory glance at Gaiseric's anti-Catholic policy in Africa, and the whole passage can be attributed to Orosius' determination to emphasize the glories of the Christian era. Yet there may be more to Orosius' claim than meets the eye; the Sueves in Galicia did have Catholic kings in the fifth century, and the Burgundian royal family included a number of orthodox Christians in the same period. Indeed, it is possible that Gregory of Tours' later condemnation of the Burgundians as Arian is as misleadingly simplistic as Orosius' propagandist statement about the Christianity of the barbarians.[31]

Because of the distortions and omissions of fifth- and sixth-century

[29] Heather (1986), and ch. 16 above. [30] Oros. VII.41.8. [31] Wood (1990) 58–61.

sources, the history of the barbarian settlements has to be considered in a broader context than that implied by a single-minded pursuit of the narrative of the invasions. Such an approach may help explain the extraordinary impact of the barbarians on the west in the early fifth century, by revealing the priorities and, therefore, the misjudgements of the emperors and their officials. Thus, the evidence relating to the Visigoths under the leadership of Alaric I survives very largely in fragments of fifth-century Greek historians, preserved, although not always accurately, in later historical works. In these Greek fragments, Gothic activity in the Balkans is set within the context of court politics. Eunapius claims that the ravaging of Greece by Alaric in the mid 390s was prompted by Rufinus, who was attempting to force Arcadius to make him co-emperor.[32] Similarly, the presence of the Visigoths in Illyricum in 408 is revealed as being part of Stilicho's policy to hold the province for Honorius against Arcadius and his advisers.[33] As for the sack of Rome, Olympiodorus ascribes it to Alaric's anger at the execution of Stilicho, and the failure of Honorius to implement promises he had made.[34]

For the last years of the fourth century and the first of the fifth, some of the most revealing information to have survived from the west comes from the poet Claudian, and the general picture he presents is one that is entirely compatible with that of the Greek historians. To a great extent Claudian's poems are propaganda works, written in support of Stilicho, and as such they illuminate the political in-fighting of the period, both that between east and west, and that at the western court. Stilicho's inability to deal with Alaric, which may well have stemmed from his fear of relying on an already barbarized Roman army against the Goths, is glossed over; in the light of the picture presented by the Greek sources and, retrospectively, in the light of the fall of Stilicho and the murder of his wife, it is likely that Claudian's treatment of events was intended to deflect criticism and comment in Ravena.

Ravenna, however, was not the only focus for discontent with Stilicho's regime. Apparently in 406, before the Vandals, Alans and Sueves crossed the frozen Rhine, the army in Britain had supported at least two usurpations, first by Marcus and then by Gratian, who is described by Orosius as a civilian (*municeps eiusdem insulae*).[35] Gratian was subsequently deposed in favour of the soldier Constantine, who proceeded to establish himself in Gaul and Spain. Although it is likely that Constantine III was acclaimed emperor because of the barbarian influx into Gaul, the sources do no more than hint at any successes he had against the invaders. Instead they emphasize his attempts to establish his own power, in opposition both to Honorius and his family, and to his one-time supporter Gerontius, who

[32] Eunap. fr. 64 Blockley. [33] Olympiod. fr. 6 Blockley. [34] Olympiod. fr. 6 Blockley.
[35] Oros. VII.40.4.

subsequently proclaimed his own son Maximus as emperor. Against these imperial rivalries, the question of dealing with the Vandals, Alans and Sueves seems to have taken second place. Certainly, according to Orosius, Honorius realized that he could do nothing against the barbarians until he had dealt with the usurpers.[36] It is even possible that Orosius overestimated the emperor's awareness of the barbarian problem, but his identification of the order of priorities at the imperial court is telling.

One indication of imperial priorities can be found in the so-called *Ravenna Annals*. Although these only survive on a single parchment leaf of the eleventh century, there can be little doubt that the surviving manuscript fragment provides an accurate transcript of the text and illustrations of a fifth-century annalistic work from the imperial circle in Ravenna.[37] The fragments cover the years 411–13, 421–3, 427–9, 434–7, 440–3 and 452–4, and for these years the chronicler records emperors, consuls, usurpers, the patriciate and the death of Aetius, together with the death of Boethius, and natural disasters. There is, however, no mention of the barbarians or their settlement within the empire. It was possible, therefore, for someone associated with or close to the imperial court in the fifth century to compile a set of annals which were concerned with nothing other than emperors, legitimate or otherwise, leading officials and earthquakes. The absence of any reference to the barbarians, although unfortunate, is a striking indication of the way in which matters of seemingly great importance could be ignored in particular circumstances. As such, it is a reminder that, however much the historian may lament lacunae in the evidence, those lacunae may themselves provide material for an interpretation of the contexts in which specific events took place.

Almost all the narrative sources dealing with the western empire in the opening decade of the fifth century concentrate more on the usurpers than on the barbarians. As a result it is not easy to provide a narrative account of the movements of the various barbarian groups with any certainty from 407 to 409, despite the catalogue of destruction which can be drawn up for the towns of Germania, Belgica and northern Gaul. Apparently Constantine III was successful in breaking up the invading forces, and it may be that some provided useful troops for the contenders to the imperial throne. Constantine's son Constans is said to have led a force of barbarians to Spain,[38] and Constantine himself sent his general Edobich to recruit Franks and Alamans from across the Rhine. In addition, Gerontius gathered a barbarian following, and he had an Alan slave with him at the time of his death.[39] According to the Greek historians, the fall of Constantine was a significant moment for the Vandals, Alans and Sueves, who are said

[36] Oros. VII.42.1. [37] Bischoff and Koehler (1939). [38] Oros. VII.40.7.
[39] Olympiod. fr. 17, 1–2 Blockley.

to have taken advantage of the collapse of his authority, apparently in 411, to seize strongholds in Spain and Gaul, as well as capturing his supporters.[40]

The execution of Constantine, however, did not mark the end of the usurpation of imperial power. Already Alaric had seen the advantage of having a puppet emperor in his control. He had proclaimed Priscus Attalus as emperor at the time of the sack of Rome. Although Alaric subsequently deposed him, Alaric's successor Athaulf also elevated Attalus as emperor for a short period of time. Meanwhile, the Alan chieftain Goar and the Burgundian leader Guntiarius raised Jovinus to the purple in Germania Secunda, and Attalus persuaded Athaulf to join forces with them, which he did for a while. But when Jovinus appointed his brother Sebastian as co-emperor, Athaulf put himself at the service of Honorius, and secured the overthrow of both usurpers. Their deaths are recorded in the *Ravenna Annals*, which also include an illustration of their heads stuck on poles.

Of all the usurpers from this period, only Constantine III attracts much attention from modern historians, and then because of his importance in removing troops from Roman Britain. The others tend to be overshadowed by preoccupation with the barbarians. Nevertheless, the emphasis placed by the court at Ravenna, and by the sources, on the destruction of the usurpers is worth some attention, for although retrospectively the Vandals, Alans, Sueves and Visigoths can be seen to be more significant, this was not perceived at the time. Moreover even the barbarians recognized the importance of usurpers and usurpation. Both Alaric and Athaulf deliberately involved themselves in the making and unmaking of emperors. This involvement raises an important issue: the relationship between the barbarians and the empire. Many aspects of this are touched on in the famous anecdote which Orosius claims to have heard from a certain Narbonensian.[41] According to this, Athaulf had originally intended to wipe out Rome, substituting Gothia in place of Romania, but because the Goths would not obey the law, he decided to restore Rome with Gothic arms. There are some undoubted problems with the detail of Orosius' account, which turns on a definition of the *respublica* which Augustine would have understood, but which is unlikely to have been on the tip of Athaulf's tongue. Nevertheless, the central point of the story may be authentic. And in any case there can be no question about the general respect which Athaulf showed for the traditions of the empire, which Alaric had revered before him. Both wanted recognition from Honorius; both appointed puppet emperors to wring concessions from him; and both were prepared to depose their puppets when *rapprochement* with Ravenna seemed possible. Athaulf also married an imperial princess, Honorius'

[40] Olympiod. fr. 13, 2 Blockley. [41] Oros. VII.43.4–6.

sister Galla Placidia, and had Priscus Attalus deliver an epithalamium at the wedding. It is possible – indeed probable – that this respect for Rome was more widespread amongst the barbarian leadership than amongst the rank and file.[42] It may even be that it exacerbated class antagonisms, although to link the murder of Athaulf with such conflicts, as has been done, is unnecessary, since his assassin is said to have been pursuing a blood-feud.[43]

With the death of Athaulf a different set of issues comes into prominence. It is not that the sources pay any more attention to the barbarians; if anything, the reverse is true. They do, however, reveal a shift in the political climate. The emergence after 410 of the general Constantius marked a temporary end to the series of usurpations which had threatened the empire, and also saw the beginnings of a genuine attempt to deal with the barbarian problem, involving, first, the use of the Visigoths against the Vandals and Alans, and, second, their settlement in Aquitaine. Quite apart from the insoluble problem of how the Goths were settled, there is a further question as to why they were settled in Aquitaine. It is a question which has been much debated, and which has prompted many different answers, which have variously stressed the wealth of Aquitaine and its strategic position with regard to routes from the north-west of Gaul to Provence and the Mediterranean, as well as the presence of dissident groups to the north of the Loire.[44] Some or all of these factors may have impinged on the consciousness of Constantius and Wallia as they negotiated the settlement, but none of them can be said to be interpretations required by the evidence, which is terse in the extreme.

Constantius' dominance over affairs may be said to begin with Athaulf's murder at Barcelona. After the reign of Singeric, which lasted a matter of days, Wallia was acclaimed king. From the start, he was inclined to follow Athaulf's advice and return the dead king's widow to her brother Honorius. Olympiodorus appears to have ascribed the pliancy of the Goths to hunger, and he states that 600,000 measures of grain were sent to the Visigoths in exchange for Galla Placidia.[45] His reference to the Vandals selling corn to them 'at one *solidus* per *trula*' is usually taken to illustrate their hapless state at the time of Wallia's accession.[46] It is even possible that Constantius had deliberately tried to starve the Visigoths into submission. According to Orosius, after Constantius had forced Athaulf and his followers to move from Narbonne into Spain, he cut maritime links and trade.[47]

Whether this amounted to a full-scale blockade – indeed, whether a blockade of Spain was feasible – is open to doubt. The threat of famine, however, can never have been far from the barbarians during their migra-

[42] Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians* 43–50. [43] Olympiod. fr. 26, 1 Blockley.
[44] Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians* 23–37, 251–5; Wallace-Hadrill (1962).
[45] Olympiod. fr. 30 Blockley. [46] Olympiod. fr. 29, 1 Blockley. [47] Oros. VII.43.1.

tions. Most of them were not used to the nomadic life, but without lands to cultivate they had to rely on others to provide grain. For a short period they might have been able to extort food from the indigenous populations, but those same populations can rarely have had the necessary surplus, and they too will have been forced to the brink of famine. In this context, the various attempts to reach Africa, by the Visigoths under Alaric and his successors, as well as by the Vandals under Gaiseric, may well indicate that the corn-supplies of the southern Mediterranean were the barbarian equivalent of El Dorado. Equally, it is not surprising that the provision of food played a significant role in relations between the Romans and the Germans, and that the failure of such provision was a cause for rebellion, as with the Visigoths in 377,[48] and, apparently, with the Saxons in Britain in the mid fifth century.[49]

Orosius, however, does not attribute Athaulf's willingness to make peace to Constantius' blockade, but rather to the remembrance of a storm, which had destroyed a band of Visigoths who were intent on crossing to Africa in the previous year.[50] The peace to which Wallia agreed may not have represented an absolute victory for the Romans. Nor do the Gothic campaigns against the Vandals and Alans necessarily mean that the Visigoths had been reduced to being agents of Constantius and nothing more. Their removal from Spain, and subsequent settlement in Aquitaine, need not, therefore, represent a policy forced on them by the Romans without their having had any say in the matter. If the settlement does reflect Visigothic as well as imperial interests, it may be significant that Athaulf had established himself in the region between Bordeaux and Narbonne before Constantius had driven the Visigoths into Spain. Wallia and his followers were returning to a region which they had left not long before.

The settlement in Aquitaine may also have been influenced by recent developments within the provinces of Gaul. Some indication of these is to be found in Rutilius Namatianus' poem *De Reditu Suo*, which records the poet's return from Rome to Gaul in the year 417.[51] Among his friends he lists Exsuperantius, who had just re-established order in Armorica. The problem to which Exsuperantius had addressed himself was probably that of the Bagaudae, dissident groups which are sometimes seen as being made up of rebellious slaves or peasants.[52] This definition of the Bagaudae, however, is unquestionably too narrow. From Salvian's account of them, it is clear that they included men who had suffered under the imperial regime at the hands of tax-gatherers and other officials, and who had been driven out of their estates.[53] A curious fourth-century comedy, the *Querolus*, which may even have been dedicated to Rutilius Namatianus, confirms this

[48] Amm. Marc. xxxi.5.1. [49] Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae* 23, 5. [50] Oros. vii.43.11.
[51] Rut. Namat. i.215–16. [52] Thompson (1952a). [53] Salvian *Gub. Dei* v.24–8.

impression by suggesting that a dispossessed landowner could join the society of free men who lived by the Loire. This picture is given a further nuance by the identification of a later leader of the Bagaudae as a doctor.[54] That this group presented a threat to the ruling establishment is very likely; that the threat was essentially lower-class is not an interpretation supported by the sources.[55]

It is possible, although not proven, that there was a relationship between Exsuperantius' military activities and the settlement of the Visigoths. Certainly any attempt to make a direct link between the two is undermined by the difficulty of dating the second event with any certainty. Leaving aside the eccentric date of 414 provided by the *Chronicle of 452*, there is still the problem of weighing Hydatius' 418 against Prosper's 419. Rather than looking for a very precise explanation for the settlement, it is perhaps better to look at the general context. Here Rutilius' return to Gaul is suggestive. That an aristocrat who was well established in Rome should want to return, at an unseasonable time of year, to his Gallic estates suggests that something of significance was about to take place. Rutilius may have been warned about the imminence of the Visigothic settlement; he is almost certain to have been aware of the proposed reconstruction of the council of the Gauls, which took place in 418.[56] In all probability the council was involved in the settlement, or at least in its repercussions.

What does seem significant is the cluster of events in Gaul during the period from 417 to 419, and this remains true whatever the date of the Visigothic settlement. Taken together, all these developments can be seen as aspects of the re-establishment of order, under Constantius and his allies, in the provinces of Gaul. From an imperial point of view, however, the forces of disorder were not simply, or even primarily, the barbarians, but the usurpers and their followers. In this context the Visigothic settlement in Aquitaine may have been intended to keep a check on the Bagaudae, but the Bagaudae may have been at least in part the remnants of the supporters of Constantine and Gerontius. Equally, Constantius may have had a more general concern to secure the loyalty of Aquitaine, and to stifle the possibility of further usurpations. In other words, by placing the Visigoths in an area which they had once occupied, he may well have hoped to gain their support in the process of establishing his own authority, alongside that of Honorius, in an area which had lately been outside the control of the court of Ravenna.

A background of imperial politics is as important for the history of the Vandalic seizure of Africa as it is for that of the Visigothic settlement in Aquitaine. This was already recognized in the sixth century, when the Byzantine historians Procopius and Jordanes accused Boniface, the count

[54] *Chronicle of 452 s.a.* 448. [55] Wood (1984) 2–5. [56] Matthews, *Western Aristocracies* 325–8.

of Africa, of inviting the Vandals into the province.[57] The context of these accusations is provided by Prosper, who records two expeditions sent against Boniface by the *magister militum* Felix in 427, the year to which he assigns the Vandal invasion of Africa. Subsequently Aetius overthrew Felix, but inherited his hostility to Boniface, who crossed from Carthage in 432 and defeated him, only to die shortly after in suspicious circumstances. Hydatius and the *Chronicle of 452* provide the additional information that Boniface was called to Italy by Galla Placidia.[58] It is difficult to see how a Vandal invasion in the late 420s could be anything other than deleterious to Boniface, who was already faced with enemies in Ravenna. By contrast, it is easy to see how Felix and Aetius might have hoped to blacken the count of Africa by accusing him of collusion. The suggestion that he had called in the Vandals probably belongs to court propaganda surrounding the attempts by rival factions to get control over the young Valentinian III. That Aetius was adept at such dirty tricks was recognized by John of Antioch, who records one of Aetius' attempts to discredit Boniface in the eyes of Galla Placidia.[59] Whatever the truth of such allegations, it is scarcely questionable that the rivalries of the Roman generals played into Gaiseric's hands. Once again, the progress of the barbarian invasions was aided by the failure of the western generals to set their own ambitions on one side, and to concentrate instead of the threat posed by the invaders.

With the death of Boniface, Aetius was in a position analogous, in certain respects, to that of Constantius after the fall of Jovinus and Sebastian. For the first time in a decade there was a single military leader, without a rival; as for the emperor, there had been no significant attempt at usurpation since Valentinian III had been established in Ravenna in 425. A more aggressive policy against the barbarians was, therefore, a possibility, and Aetius did indeed launch campaigns against the Visigoths in Gaul and the Burgundians on the Rhine, as well as against lesser peoples called the Iuthungi and the Nori.[60] Nevertheless, he still made concessions to the barbarians, notably to the Vandals in Africa, but also to the Alans and the Burgundians in Gaul. These last two grants, in particular, are reminiscent of Constantius' policies. The allocation of Sapaudia to the Burgundians has been compared to that of Aquitaine to the Visigoths, although the context of the settlement of the Burgundians is completely obscure. The settlement of Alans in Gallia ulterior, however, does appear to be related to events and policies which stretch back to the time of Constantius.

The evidence for this depends almost entirely on the *Chronicle of 452*, but since, in certain crucial respects, this information can be dovetailed with material from elsewhere, there seems to be no reason to reject the basic

[57] Procop. *BV* 1.3.22–6; Jordanes, *Get.* XXXIII.167.
[58] Hydat. *Chron. s.a.* 432; *Chronicle of 452 s.a.* 432. [59] Jo. Ant. fr. 196.
[60] Hydat. *Chron. s.a.* 430–1; *Chronicle of 452 s.a.* 430–1.

outline of events. According to the *Chronicle*, Aetius handed the lands of Gallia ulterior over to the Alans, who were to divide them with the local population (*cum incolis*). However, there was resistance to this, so the barbarians took possession of the region by force, and drove the landlords out. These events can be related to earlier annals in the same chronicle, which deal with Gallia ulterior. For instance, in the year variously dated 435 and 439, the chronicler records the rebellion of Tibatto, and the consequent Bagaudic conspiracy; two annals later, the capture of Tibatto and the suppression of the Bagaudae is related. A moment in between these two events is described by Constantius of Lyons, who recounts a meeting between Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and the rebels, as well as the bishop's subsequent attempt to prevent the use of Goar and the Alans to suppress the uprising.[61] Constantius makes it clear that the Alans were involved in the destruction of the Bagaudae, whilst the chronicler's information suggests that Aetius subsequently gave the Alans a share in the region where the Bagaudae had been established, and that the barbarians took control of the area by force, because of local opposition. In short, the problem of the Bagaudae, which had apparently occupied Exsuperantius, and which may have been a factor in the placing of the Visigoths in Aquitaine, was certainly central to the allocation of lands in Gallia ulterior to the Alans.

The use of the Alans against the Bagaudae is also significant in that it draws attention to the dependence of Aetius on barbarian allies when dealing with rebellious groups within the Roman empire. This reliance on barbarians can be documented from the first major appearance of Aetius on the political stage, when he recruited an army of Huns, supposedly 60,000 strong, to support the usurper John.[62] After his defeat by Boniface, he seems to have determined on flight to the Huns, and he later used them unsuccessfully against the Visigoths, and with devastating effect against the Burgundians. Barbarian federates and mercenaries had long been used by the Romans; what is striking about the campaigns of Aetius, however, is the almost complete silence relating to any Roman troops. Even in 451, when his relations with the Huns failed and Attila turned on the western empire, there is little to suggest that Aetius had access to a substantial Roman army. Indeed, Jordanes, who provides the most detailed account of the battle of the Catalaunian Plains – though this was admittedly written in Constantinople in the mid sixth century – describes what is essentially an army of barbarian allies, although he does refer to the Olybriones as 'having once been Roman soldiers'.[63] Given Aetius' previous dependence on the Huns and his hostility to the Visigoths, it is surprising that he

[61] Constantius, *Vita Germani* 28; Wood (1984) 15–16. [62] Olympiod. fr. 43, 2 Blockley.
[63] Jordanes, *Get.* XXXVI.191.

managed to gather together so sizeable a confederacy. Much of the credit should doubtless go to Avitus, who was held in high regard by the Visigoths, who later made him emperor.

The apparent insignificance of Roman troops at the battle of the Catalaunian Plains raises the problem of the chronology of the decline of the Roman army. This is not a problem that is easily solved. The narrative sources are rarely specific about the constitution of any campaigning force, and from the 420s onwards, where they do provide detail, it is of barbarian troops, almost without exception. The one non-narrative source which ought to be relevant is the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Unfortunately, although this document may have been compiled as late as the 420s,[64] the information it contains is highly suspect. No narrative source for the period after 406 confirms the accuracy of any part of it, and some sections, like those relating to the provinces of Britain, Belgica and Germania, are unquestionably anachronistic.[65] In all probability the work as it stands is a nostalgic statement of what had once been available to the emperor, and as such it is as optimistic a creation as the bizarre military manual, the *De Rebus Bellicis*, which survives alongside it.

If the narrative sources are trustworthy over this matter, it appears that a crucial shift in the constitution of military forces available to the emperor or his generals took place in the first three decades of the fifth century. At the time of the usurpation of Constantine III, there was still a sizeable Roman army in existence. By the 430s Aetius was clearly dependent on barbarian troops. The factors most likely to have contributed to the decline of the army in the intervening period are the civil wars between the usurpers and the court of Ravenna. Significant losses and the disbanding of rebellious units may well have weakened the army greatly, while the presence of rebels and barbarians in Britain, Gaul and Spain is likely to have meant a decline in Honorius' tax revenues, and consequent difficulties in paying those troops who were loyal. Were this to have been the case, two points of importance for the barbarian settlements would follow: first, after 406 the army would have been less capable of dealing with the invading forces than it had been at the start of Honorius' reign; second, the empire would have been desirious of harnessing the manpower of the barbarian forces, however sizeable they were.

This particular concern of the emperors and their advisers is easily overshadowed by the history of settlement, and yet there are indications that, for all the problems presented by the barbarians, it is one area where Constantius and Aetius achieved remarkable success. There were failures as well. Prosper records Visigothic attacks on Arles in 425 and Narbonne in 436, as well as fighting which lasted until 439. Further, despite the treaty

[64] Salway (1981) 476 n. 2; chs. 5 and 7, pp. 163–5 and 211–12 above. [65] Wightman (1985) 300.

of 435, Gaiseric continued to harass Roman Africa until 442. Nevertheless, the Visigoths kept the peace made with Constantius for over a decade, during which time they campaigned against the Vandals and the Alans on behalf of the empire, and having come to terms with Aetius in 439 they again served the emperor, fighting on the Roman side at the Catalaunian Plains. Moreover, the chronology of their breaking the first of these treaties, although it could suggest opportunism following the usurpation of John, could also suggest that once they had made a treaty, the Visigoths were prepared to observe it during the lifetime of the emperor with whom they had come to terms. There is a similar ambiguity about the sack of Rome by Gaiseric which followed soon after the death of Valentinian III in 455. The Vandals may have taken advantage of the chaos which followed the emperor's murder, but the Greek historian Priscus states directly that Gaiseric reckoned that the treaty he had made with the empire was dissolved with the death of those with whom he had negotiated.[66] The seizure of part of Gaul by the Burgundians and the division of that land with the senators, dated by Marius of Avenches to 456, might imply that they too regarded themselves as bound only to Valentinian III. That treaties were broken after the demise of an emperor could be said to show the limitations of the good faith of the barbarians, but it could also be said to reveal considerable loyalty within those limitations. Although Aetius is sometimes held to have been responsible for the survival of the western empire into the second half of the fifth century, if the Roman army was in significant decline, as it seems to have been, after the civil wars of the first decade of the century, then Aetius' achievement depended on the acquiescence of the barbarians. A similar conclusion might be drawn from the speed with which the empire collapsed in the twenty years after Valentinian's death.

The relationship between the murders of Aetius and Valentinian and renewed aggression on the part of the barbarians highlights once more the interaction of imperial politics and barbarian migration and settlement, and reinforces the importance of treating the settlements in a broad context. The success of the Visigoths in the first two decades of the fifth century was closely related to the preoccupations of the emperor and his generals with usurpation. By the time the internal threats to Honorius had been dealt with, the Visigoths were already too well established within the empire to make their destruction or removal an easy matter. Besides, it is by no means clear that Constantius or any later general had sufficient military resources to reassert imperial authority in much of Gaul without relying on Visigothic manpower. The later rivalries of Boniface, Felix and Aetius provided the Vandals with the opportunity to seize the great corn-producing lands of Africa, and thereby to destroy the political and eco-

[66] Priscus fr. 30 Blockley; John of Antioch fr. 201.

nomic unity of the western Mediterranean. Once again, the military leaders of the empire were too preoccupied with their own positions to deal with the barbarian threat, even if there was a Roman army capable of withstanding the invasion.

The barbarians themselves, however, although prepared to take advantage of these political divisions, were also ready to come to terms with the emperor and his agents in order to negotiate a place for themselves within the empire. Alaric and Athaulf were both intent on receiving some form of recognition from Rome, and once Wallia had gained that recognition, he and his successor were prepared to serve Honorius. The Alans also acted as servants of the state, and even Gaiseric, who was less constrained by the terms he secured from Valentinian, seems to have regarded himself as particularly bound to that one emperor. This willingness to fit into the structure of the empire ensured the preservation of Roman society, culture and provincial administration within the early barbarian kingdoms. It also obscured the extent of the collapse of imperial power in the first half of the fifth century. Because the empire of Valentinian III was shored up by the barbarians, it was possible to think that little had changed since the days of Theodosius I. When the Visigoths did decide to assert their independence in the second half of the century, some Gallic aristocrats, like Sidonius Apollinaris, were shattered by the change, but in fact most of the transfer of power had taken place surreptitiously over the previous half-century.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

A.D.	Emperors	The West
337	Death of Constantine (22 May). Constans, Constantine II and Constantius proclaimed emperors (9 September)	
340	Constantine II killed (spring)	
350	Magnentius proclaimed emperor in Gaul. Constans killed (shortly after 18 January)	
351	Gallus, brother of Julian, appointed Caesar; executed 354	
353	Magnentius commits suicide	
		355 Usurpation of Silvanus in Gaul; Silvanus assassinated; Cologne sacked by Franks
		355–9 Julian campaigns in Gaul; besieged at Sens by Alamanni; battle of Strasbourg (357); treaty of federation with Franks (357/8); restoration of Roman fortresses along the Rhine
360	Julian (Caesar 355) proclaimed emperor at Paris	
361	Constantius II died (3 November)	
363	Death of Julian in Mesopotamia while on campaign in the east (26 June). Jovian proclaimed	
364	Jovian dies near Ancyra (17 February). Valentinian I proclaimed (26 February); nominates his brother Valens as co-emperor in the east	
365	Revolt of Procopius in the east	
367	Valentinian's son Gratian proclaimed co-emperor, aged eight	367, 369 Valens leads armies across the Danube
		370–1 Treason trials at Rome; revolt of Firmus in N. Africa
		375 Valentinian I campaigns on lower Rhine and against the Quadi; Milan becomes seat of western court
375	Valentinian I dies after a stroke (17 November). Valentinian II, aged four, proclaimed emperor with Gratian	376 Tervingi allowed to cross the Danube

The East	Cultural and Religious
337–50 Early wars of Constantius II against Persia	
	340 Athanasius exiled
343–4 Battle of Singara	343 Council of Sardica
345 Constantius in Nisibis	
346 Second siege of Nisibis	346 Athanasius restored
350 Third siege of Nisibis	350 Death of Pachomius
350–60 Later Persian wars of Constantius II	
	356 Athanasius exiled again
	356 Death of Antony
359 Siege and fall of Amida	
363 Julian at Antioch	
363 Julian's Persian expedition	
364 Jovian's treaty with Persia	
365/6 Constantinople seized by Procopius	
	370–9 Basil bishop of Caesarea
	371–2 Trials at Antioch
	c. 371–97 Martin bishop of Tours
	373 Death of Athanasius
	374–97 Ambrose bishop of Milan

A.D.	Emperors	The West
378	Valens marches west from Antioch against Goths, reaches Constantinople (30 May), killed in battle of Adrianople (9 August)	
379	Theodosius, son of the elder Theodosius, Valentinian's *magister equitum* (executed 375), proclaimed emperor at Sirmium (19 January)	
382		Peace treaty with Goths
383	Magnus Maximus proclaimed emperor in Britain and invades Gaul; Gratian deserted by his troops and killed (25 August). Magnus Maximus recognized as emperor by Theodosius. Invades Italy 387; Valentinian II and his mother Justina flee to Thessalonica. Arcadius, son of Theodosius, proclaimed emperor in east (19 January)	
388	Magnus Maximus defeated by Theodosius and killed	
392	Valentinian II commits suicide having failed to dismiss Arbogast; Eugenius proclaimed emperor	
393	Honorius, son of Theodosius, proclaimed emperor	
394	Eugenius and Arbogast defeated by Theodosius' army at river Frigidus	
395	Theodosius I dies at Milan. His sons Honorius and Arcadius rule as emperors in west and east respectively	
395		The ascendancy of Stilicho
397–8		Revolt of Gildo in Africa

The East	Cultural and Religious
379 Death of Shapur II of Persia	379 Death of Basil of Caesarea; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Funeral Oration on Basil*
	381 Council of Constantinople
	382 Altar of Victory removed from senate in Rome
	382 Jerome in Rome, forced to leave 384
	383 Gratian drops title of *pontifex maximus*
	384 Symmachus' *Relationes* about the altar of Victory
387 Riot of the Statues, Antioch	
	389–90 Libanius, *For the Temples*
390 Riot and massacre at Thessalonica	
391 Destruction of Serapaeum of Alexandria	391–2 Theodosius I's legislation against paganism
395 Alaric and Goths threaten Constantinople; Gainas and Eastern armies return to Constantinople and assassinate Rufinus	395–430 Augustine bishop of Hippo
396 Alaric and Goths ravage Greece	
397–8 Synesius in Constantinople	397 Augustine's *Confessions*
	398–404 John Chrysostom bishop of Constantinople
399 Revolt of Tribigild and Greuthungi in Phrygia; execution of Eutropius	399 Origenist monks go into exile from Egypt
400 Gainas leaves Constantinople and withdraws to Thrace; massacre of Goths in city; Gainas defeated by Fravitta, killed by Huns December/January 400/401	

A.D.	Emperors	The West
		406 Vandals, Alans, Sueves cross Rhine.
407–13	Series of would-be usurpers in the west, successfully suppressed.	
408	Arcadius dies and is succeeded by his son Theodosius II, aged seven	408 Alaric and Visigoths enter Italy; fall and death of Stilicho
		410 Sack of Rome by Alaric
		410 Revolt of Britain; Honorius writes to cities of Britain
		414 Marriage of Athaulf and Galla Placidia at Narbonne
		418 Goths settled in southern Gaul
421	Constantius, *magister utriusque militiae* in the west since 411, and married to Galla Placidia in 417, declared emperor by Honorius (8 February); not recognized in the east. He dies of an illness after six months (2 September)	
423	Death of Honorius	
425	Honorius' nephew Valentinian becomes emperor as Valentinian III, after a brief period during which John, the *primicerius notariorum*, had been proclaimed	
		429 Vandals cross to Africa
		439 Vandals take Carthage
450	Theodosius II reigns in the east until his death in 450, when he is succeeded by the elderly senator Marcian, his rule reinforced by his marriage to Theodosius' sister the Augusta Pulcheria	

The East	Cultural and Religious
	402 Temples in Gaza destroyed with imperial sanction
	411 Council of Carthage condemns Donatists
	412 Cyril becomes bishop of Alexandria
	413–25 Augustine writing the *City of God*
	415 Hypatia killed by mob in Alexandria
	418 Council of Carthage condemns Pelagianism; Orosius' *History against the Pagans*
	c. 420 John Cassian's *Institutes*
	423 S. Symeon the Elder ascends pillar
	431 Council of Ephesus
	438 Theodosian Code

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ABBREVIATIONS

AASS Maii	*Acta Sanctorum* (May), 71 vols. 1863–1940
ABull	*The Art Bulletin*
AC	*Acta Classica*
ACO	*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz, Berlin
AE	*L'Année Épigraphique*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJAHist	*American Journal of Ancient History*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
Amb. Op.	*Opera Omnia di Sant' Ambrogio*, Milan and Rome 1979–
Anal. Boll.	*Analecta Bollandiana*
Annales (ESC)	*Annales (Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations)*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. H. Temporini. Berlin 1972–
Ant. Afr.	*Antiquités Africaines*
AP	*L'Année Philologique*
APF	*Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*
ARCA	Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, Liverpool
Arch. Rev. from Cambr.	*Archaeological Review from Cambridge*
ASNP	*Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BAGB	*Bulletin d'Association Guillaume Budé*
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BCTH	*Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques*
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et Rome
BLE	*Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique*
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BSNAF	*Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
Bull. Am. Soc. Pap.	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
Byz. Forsch.	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
Byz. Zeit.	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*

CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
CArch	*Cahiers Archéologiques*
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*
CEFR	*Collection de l'École Française de Rome*
ChHist	*Church History*
Chron. Min.	*Chronica Minora*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CJ	*Codex Justinianus*
C&M	*Classica et Mediaevalia*
CPh	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CRAI	*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
CS	*Critica Storica*
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vienna
C.Th.	*Codex Theodosianus*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
Eccl. Occ. Mon. Iur. Ant.	*Ecclesiae occidentalis monumenta iuris antiquissima*, ed. C. Turner. Oxford, 1899–1939
EFR	École Française de Rome
EHBS	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν. Athens
EHR	*English Historical Review*
Entr. Hardt.	Entretiens Hardt
Epigr. Anat.	*Epigraphica Anatolica*
FHG	*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller
FIRA	*Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani*
GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte.* Leipzig
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
GWU	*Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*
Hist. Zeit.	*Historische Zeitschrift*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review*
ICUR	*Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. Degrassi
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IGLS	*Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, Paris
ILCV	*Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, ed. E. Diehl
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
IRT	*Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, ed. J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward-Perkins. Rome 1952
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JbAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*

JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JöB	*Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JS	*Journal des Savants*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JThS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
MAAR	*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*
MBAH	*Münsterische Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte*
MDAI(R)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* (Röm. Abt.)
Med. Hist. Rev.	*The Mediterranean Historical Review*
MEFR	*Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome*
MGH, Auct. Ant.	*Monumenta Historiae Germaniae, Auctores Antiquissimi*
MH	*Museum Helveticum*
MIOEG	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*
Nott. Med. St.	*Nottingham Medieval Studies*
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
OJA	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLP	*Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*
P.Abinn.	*The Abinnaeus Archive*, ed. H. I. Bell and others. Oxford 1962
P.Bodm.	*Papyri Bodmer*, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Geneva
P.Ital.	*Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, ed. J. O. Tjäder. Lund 1955
P.Lond.	*Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, ed. F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell. London, 1893–1917
P.Mich.	*Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection*, Ann Arbor 1931–
P.Oxy.	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. B. P. Grenfell and others. London, 1898–
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne
PL	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne
PLRE I	*Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* I, ed. Jones, Martindale and Morris, 1971
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*
PP	*Parola del Passato*
PSI	*Papyri Greci e Latini, Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto.* 1912–
QUCC	*Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.* Stuttgart
RD	*Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger*
RE	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
REA	*Revue des Études Anciennes*

REB	*Revue des Études Byzantines*
RecPhL	*Recherches de Philologie et de Linguistique*, Louvain
RecSR	*Recherches de Science Religieuse*
REL	*Revue des Études Latines*
RFIC	*Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica*
RH	*Revue Historique*
RHE	*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*
RIC	*Roman Imperial Coinage*
RIDA	*Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité*
RIL	*Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo*
Riv. di Arch. Cristiana	*Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*
Riv. di Filologia	*Rivista di Filologia*
RM	*Rheinisches Museum*
ROC	*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*
Röm. Quart.	*Römische Quartalschrift*
RSA	*Rivista Storica dell'Antichità*
RSI	*Rivista Storica Italiana*
SBAW	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse
SChrét.	*Sources Chrétiennes*
SCO	*Studi Classici ed Orientali*
SDHI	*Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SHA	*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin
Stud. Rom.	*Studi Romani*
Stud. Stor.	*Studi Storici*
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
Theol. Zeitschr.	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
T&MByz	*Travaux et Mémoires. Centre de recherches d'histoire et de civilisation byzantines*
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen*
Vig. Christ.	*Vigiliae Christianae*
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZRG	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* (Röm. Abt.)

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